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A

COLLECTION

OF THE

PARLIAMENTARY

DEBATES

IN

ENGLAND,

FROM

The YEAR M, DC, LXVIII

To the preſent TIME.

VOL. XX.

Printed in the Year, M, DCC, XLII.

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Parlia-

ERRAT. *P.* 14. *for* Lord *Haverſham, read* Earl of *Holderneſs.*

Parliamentary DEBATES.

The ſeventh ſeſſion of the fourth Septennial Parliament.

TUESDAY, November 18, the Parliament having met at *Weſtminſter*, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, according to their laſt prorogation and his Majeſty's proclamation, his Majeſty came to the houſe of Peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, *viz.* Parliament meets.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majeſty's ſpeech.

'I Acquainted you, at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, that I was making preparations for carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which I am engaged, in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner. For this purpoſe, ſtrong ſquadrons were got ready, and ordered to ſail upon important ſervices, both in the *Weſt-Indies* and *Europe*, with as much expedition as the nature of thoſe ſervices, and the manning of the ſhips, would admit: A very conſiderable body of land forces was embarked, which is to be joined by a great number of my ſubjects raiſed in *America*; and all things neceſſary for tranſporting the troops from hence, and carrying on the deſigned expedition, were a long time in readi-

'neſs, and waited only for an opportunity to pur-
'ſue the intended voyage.

'The ſeveral incidents which have happened
'in the mean time, have had no effect upon me,
'but to confirm me in my reſolutions, and to de-
'termine me to add ſtrength to my armaments,
'rather than to divert or deter me from thoſe
'juſt and vigorous meaſures which I am purſu-
'ing, for maintaining the honour of my crown,
'and the undoubted rights of my people.

'The court of *Spain* having already felt ſome
'effects of our reſentment, began to be ſenſible,
'that they ſhould be no longer able, alone, to
'defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the *Bri-*
'*tiſh* nation; and if any other power, agreeably
'to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould
'interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the
'operations of the war againſt my declared ene-
'mies, the honour and intereſt of my crown and
'kingdoms muſt call upon us to loſe no time in
'putting ourſelves into ſuch a condition, as may
'enable us to repel any inſults, and to fruſtrate
'any deſigns formed againſt us, in violation of
'the faith of treaties; and I hope any ſuch un-
'precedented ſteps, under what colour or pre-
'tence ſoever they may be taken, will inſpire my
'allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger,
'and will unite us in the ſupport and defence of
'the common cauſe.

'The great and unhappy event of the death of
'the late Emperor, opens a new ſcene in the af-
'fairs of *Europe*, in which all the principal powers
'may be immediately or conſequentially con-
'cerned. It is impoſſible to determine what turn
'the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral
'courts may lead them to take in this critical con-
'juncture. It ſhall be my care ſtrictly to obſerve
'and attend to their motions, and to adhere to
'the engagements I am under, in order to the

'maintaining of the balance of power, and the 'liberties of *Europe*; and in concert with ſuch 'powers as are under the ſame obligations, or 'equally concerned to preſerve the publick ſafety 'and tranquillity, to act ſuch a part as may beſt 'contribute to avert the imminent dangers that 'may threaten them.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'I have ordered eſtimates to be prepared, and 'laid before you, for the ſervice of the enſuing 'year. It is always with regret that I aſk any 'extraordinary aids of my people: But what I 'have already mentioned muſt be ſufficient to ſa-'tisfy you, that ſome augmentations will be ne-'ceſſary, not only for carrying on the preſent 'war with vigour, but alſo to put ourſelves in a 'condition of being prepared for ſuch events 'as may ariſe in this new and uncertain ſtate of '*Europe*. I therefore depend on your experienc'd 'zeal and affection for me and my government, 'your concern for your own ſafety, and the ſup-'port of the common cauſe, to grant me ſuch 'effectual ſupplies as may be requiſite for theſe 'great ends.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The ſcarcity of corn, which has happened in 'many countries of *Europe*, has induced ſeveral 'powers to make extraordinary proviſions to ob-'viate the ill effects of that misfortune; and 'though in many parts of this kingdom, the 'harveſt has proved more favourable, yet com-'mon prudence calls upon us to provide as far as 'may be againſt the approach of ſuch a calamity. 'Beſides, in our preſent circumſtances, it would 'be an inexcuſable neglect to ſuffer our enemies to 'be ſupplied with any kind of proviſions from 'my dominions, and that even at the hazard of

'my own ſubjects being diſtreſſed. Let me there-
'fore earneſtly recommend it to you to conſider of
'ſome good law to prevent this growing miſchief.

'The difficulties which have been found in
'manning the fleet by the uſual methods hitherto
'practiſed, demonſtrate the want of ſome parlia-
'mentary remedy: I muſt therefore preſs it upon
'you to loſe no time in making ſuch proviſions
'in this reſpect, as, whilſt we are engaged in a
'war in defence of the commerce and navigation
'of this kingdom, may enable the publick to avail
'itſelf of thoſe great numbers of ſeamen, which
'make ſo valuable a branch of our ſtrength.

'The importance of theſe conſiderations is ſo
'apparent, that I need uſe no arguments to con-
'vince you of the neceſſity of the utmoſt unani-
'mity and diſpatch in your proceedings.'

Debate upon the form of an addreſs in the houſe of Lords.

As ſoon as his Majeſty was retired, and the ſpeech read to the houſe by the Lord Chancellor, his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* ſtood up, and ſpoke to this effect:

'My Lords,

Duke of *Argyle*'s ſpeech and motion for an addreſs.

'The cuſtom of addreſſing his Majeſty upon
'his ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of
'a ſeſſion of Parliament, is, I believe, as ancient
'as Parliaments themſelves, and it is ſo becauſe it
'is very proper and very reaſonable; but the
'method of forming and drawing up that
'addreſs, has of late years been very much al-
'tered, and, in my opinion, very much for the
'worſe. In former times, our method was to
'be very ſhort and very general: To return
'thanks for his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech
'from the throne, and to make ſome general
'profeſſions of our affection for his Majeſty, and
'of our zeal for his ſervice; and when ſuch an
'addreſs as this was agreed to, a day was then
'appointed for taking his Majeſty's ſpeech into

'conſideration: For our anceſtors were not, it 'ſeems, ſo ready-witted as thoſe of the preſent 'age pretend to be: They did not, it ſeems, 'think themſelves capable of determining upon 'the firſt hearing, whether they could approve 'of every thing mentioned or referred to in his 'Majeſty's ſpeech; and therefore they took time 'to conſider of it, before they ſaid any thing 'that might look like an approbation. But now 'we have fallen into a way of echoing back, in 'our addreſs, his Majeſty's ſpeech from the 'throne, paragraph by paragraph, and expreſſing 'at leaſt a ſeeming ſort of approbation of every 'meaſure referred to in that ſpeech.

'This, my Lords, is a very conſiderable inno-'vation of our ancient method of proceeding, 'and an innovation of ſo modern a date, that 'there are ſeveral perſons in the adminiſtration 'who muſt remember when it was firſt introdu-'ced. It is a method which I think unreaſona-'ble in itſelf, and inconſiſtent with the honour 'and dignity of this houſe. The King's ſpeech is 'always, in this houſe, conſidered as the ſpeech of 'the miniſters, and as it has generally been, we may 'expect it will always be a ſhort narrative of the 'meaſures they have purſued, and a ſort of pane-'gyrick upon every thing they have done; there-'fore we ought to be extremely cautious of ſay-'ing any thing that may imply a tacit approbation 'of any thing they have done, or adviſed to be done. 'We ſit here, my Lords, as a check upon mini-'ſters: It is our duty, as his Majeſty's hereditary 'and ſupreme council, to inform him, whether 'he has been ill or well adviſed or ſerved by his 'miniſters; and ſhall we, in our addreſs, ſay 'any thing that may give our Sovereign cauſe to 'think, he has been well ſerved, or rightly advi-'ſed, by his miniſters, when, for ought we 'know, he has been betrayed by them, or led

'into ſuch meaſures as may undo both him and 'his family.

'I know, my Lords, it is a maxim, that we 'are not bound by any thing we can ſay upon 'this occaſion; and that notwithſtanding any im- 'plied approbation of paſt meaſures, contained in 'our addreſs by way of anſwer to his Majeſty's 'ſpeech, we may afterwards ſtrictly inquire into 'thoſe meaſures, and freely condemn them, if 'upon ſuch inquiry they appear to be wrong. 'This maxim is, indeed, abſolutely neceſſary, as 'long as we continue in that method of addreſſing 'which we have lately fallen into; but I muſt re- 'fer it to your Lordſhips, whether it be conſiſ- 'tent either with the King's ſafety, or our own 'honour. In publick affairs, my Lords, a day, 'an hour is often of the laſt conſequence. A 'bad meaſure, if purſued, may be of ſuch a na- 'ture as to bring irrecoverable ruin: If retracted 'or altered in time, the impending ruin may be 'prevented. In this caſe, a day, an hour may 'be critical, and may determine the ruin or the 'recovery of the King's affairs. If the King 'ſhould have been led into dangerous meaſures, 'ſhall we encourage him in the purſuit of thoſe 'meaſures, by a ſeeming approbation in our ad- 'dreſs at the opening of the ſeſſion? Without 'this approbation he might, perhaps, have re- 'flected upon what he was about, and might 'thereby, of himſelf, have diſcovered his error. 'But by this our ſeeming approbation, he is en- 'couraged to go on without reflexion, without 'conſideration, and before we have time to in- 'quire and condemn, the critical day or hour 'may be paſt, and the ruin of the King's affairs 'become irrecoverable.

'This, my Lords, muſt ſhew how inconſiſtent 'it is with the King's ſafety, for us to give ſo much 'as a ſeeming approbation of any publick mea- 'ſure,

'ſure, in our addreſs at the opening of a ſeſſion; 'and notwithſtanding the maxim of our not be- 'ing bound by it, I muſt think it abſolutely in- 'conſiſtent with our own honour. It is a ſort of 'evidence, my Lords, in favour of every thing 'the miniſter has done. It has been, and always 'will be look'd on, both abroad and at home, as 'the evidence of this houſe, that the meaſures 'purſued by our miniſters are all wiſe and right; 'and ſhall we give our evidence in favour of 'what we know nothing about, any farther than 'the miniſter has been pleaſed to tell us in his 'Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne? To ſay that 'we ſhall firſt give ſuch an evidence, and then 'inquire if it be right, is directly what is aſcribed 'to the fawning paraſite, who firſt gives his teſti- 'mony to the truth of a fact, and then inquires 'what it is. Is this conſiſtent with your Lord- 'ſhips honour? In private affairs your word is 'your oath: It is allowed to be of equal weight 'with the oath of a private man: I believe, eve- 'ry one of your Lordſhips conſiders it as ſuch, 'and would be as ſhy of giving your word, as 'your oath, in teſtimony of a falſhood. My 'Lords, in private converſation, it may, per- 'haps, be look'd on as a ſtiff ſort of formality, 'never to ſay any thing, or to make uſe of any 'expreſſions, but ſuch as are ſtrictly agreeable to 'the ſentiments of the mind. A little complai- 'ſance, or even diſſimulation, is allowable, be- 'cauſe it is neceſſary for converſation, and for 'keeping up a correſpondence among men; but 'in all judicial proceedings, and much more in 'parliamentary proceedings, eſpecially ſuch as re- 'main upon record as the authenick acts of the 'aſſembly, complaiſance is no way neceſſary, and 'diſſimulation is always a crime. I am therefore 'ſurprized, how this modern ſort of complaiſance 'in our addreſſes at the opening of a ſeſſion came

'first to be introduced, or how it has continued 'ſo long; but thank God! it has yet acquired no 'preſcriptive authority: It is not yet beyond the 'memory of any man living, and I hope it will 'be altered, and for ever aboliſhed, before it 'comes to be ſo. I hope we ſhall return to our 'ancient method, and there was never a greater 'neceſſity for it than upon the preſent occaſion.

'My Lords, when no meaſures have been 'purſued, but ſuch as ſeemingly at leaſt appear 'to have been right, a little complaiſance in our 'addreſs may admit of ſome ſort of excuſe; but 'when the meaſures purſued, end referred to in 'his Majeſty's ſpeech, are ſuch as ſeemingly ap-'pear to be wrong, or ſuch as have been gene-'rally condemned, the leaſt ſort of complaiſance 'with regard to ſuch meaſures would be criminal 'in the higheſt degree. This, my Lords, is the 'caſe at preſent. The methods taken for proſe-'cuting the war we are now ſo juſtly engaged in, 'or rather the ſurprizing neglects we have been 'guilty of, have been condemned by all but our 'enemies, and, indeed, in all appearance, they 'are ſuch, I think, as it is impoſſible to juſtify. 'If upon this occaſion we return ſuch an addreſs 'as has been uſual of late years: If we echo 'back his Majeſty's ſpeech, paragraph by para-'graph, we muſt either juſtify or condemn all the 'meaſures that have been purſued, and all the 'neglects our miniſters have been guilty of. In 'his Majeſty's ſpeech they tell us, they have pro-'ſecuted the war in the moſt proper places, and 'in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner. Can 'we ſay ſo in our addreſs, my Lords? Will any 'man in the nation, beſides the creatures of our 'miniſter, ſay ſo? Have we proſecuted the war 'in the moſt proper places? Have we proſecuted 'it in any place? My Lords, we have proſecu-'ted it no where, unleſs a little privateering can

'be

'be called proſecuting a war; and even in that 'way we have neglected our own trade ſo much, 'that I am convinced, the enemy have had great-'ly the advantage of us. As for what Admiral '*Vernon* has done in the *Weſt-Indies*, I am per-'ſuaded it was not owing to the orders or inſtruc-'tions he had from our miniſters, but becauſe 'they durſt not give him any orders or inſtruc-'tions for preventing it; and becauſe they knew, 'that he had a ſincere regard for the honour and 'intereſt of his country, and of conſequence 'would, to the utmoſt of his power, proſecute 'the war, in the moſt proper place, and in the 'moſt vigorous and effectual manner, therefore 'they ſent him thither with a force from which 'nothing could be expected, and with which no 'man but himſelf, I believe, would have attempt-'ed any thing of conſequence.

'For the ſame reaſon, my Lords, they found 'pretences, of ſome kind or other, to delay ſend-'ing him any proper ſupplies, for above a year 'and a half after they might and ought to have 'been ſent. Nay, I doubt much if they would 'yet have been ſent, if it had not been for the 'expreſs orders given, as I muſt ſuppoſe, by his 'Majeſty, after his return from his *German* do-'minions; for by their having been ſo long and 'ſo unaccountably delayed before, and ſailing ſo 'ſoon after his Majeſty's return, I muſt ſuppoſe, 'that their ſailing at laſt proceeded ſolely from 'him, and not from the directions of any of his 'miniſters, perhaps contrary to the advice of 'ſome of them. The weſterly winds, I know, 'afforded ſome ſort of excuſe; but if the neceſ-'ſary preparations had been made with any ſort of 'foreſight or diſpatch, the fleet might have been 'ready, and might have ſailed, before the weſter-'ly winds ſet in; and even after theſe winds had 'ſet in, there were ſeveral opportunities for our

'fleet's

'fleet's getting out of the channel, if they had 'been provided with every thing neceſſary, and 'had received expreſs orders to ſail with the firſt 'opportunity.

'With regard, my Lords, to the ſending of 'ſupplies to Admiral *Vernon*, there ſeems to have 'been ſomething more than neglect: There really 'ſeems to have been a formed deſign, to prevent 'his being able to proſecute the war in the *Weſt-Indies*, till the *Spaniards* had provided for their 'defence; and the little interruption they have 'met with in ſending ſquadrons and land forces to '*America*, confirms me in this belief. But this is 'not the only wrong meaſure, or unaccountable 'neglect, we have been guilty of. I may perhaps have no great ſhare of natural underſtanding, but I have ſome experience in military affairs. It has been my trade ever ſince I was a 'child; and from the experience I have had, and 'the knowledge I have, by converſing with 'others, acquired, I think, I could demonſtrate, 'that no one right ſtep has been taken, either in 'the commencement or proſecution of the war. 'But as I ſhall always be as far from deſiring your 'Lordſhips to condemn, as I ſhall be from deſiring you to approve, without being fully and 'thoroughly informed, therefore, the only aim I 'have in giving you my thoughts upon the preſent occaſion, is, to induce you to return to the 'ancient method of addreſſing, in anſwer to his 'Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne.

'I know, my Lords, the modern practice has 'for ſome years been very different. His Majeſty's intended ſpeech has been communicated 'by his miniſters to a few Lords, before he 'ſpoke it in this houſe, and at the ſame time they 'communicated ſuch a motion, as they thought 'would be proper to be made, for an addreſs of 'this houſe by way of anſwer to that ſpeech.

'The

'The firſt has generally contained an encomium 'upon their own meaſures, and the other has re-'gularly been a repetition and improvement of 'that encomium. This, we may believe, has 'always been approved of by the Lords they 'ſhewed it to, and then ſome one of them has 'been appointed to make that motion, and ano-'ther to ſecond it. Hitherto, my Lords, I am 'no way ſurpriz'd: I am not at all ſurpriz'd, 'that the miniſters meaſures, or the motion they 'propoſe, ſhould be approved of by the few 'Lords they pick out for their confidents; but 'what I am ſurprized at is, that this houſe has 'fallen into a method of expecting and waiting 'for this motion, as if no Lord in this houſe had 'a right to make ſuch a motion, but the Lord 'appointed for that purpoſe by the King's mini-'ſters; and I am ſtill more ſurprized, that the 'motion thus made by the appointment of the 'King's miniſters, ſhould for ſo many years have 'been approved of by the majority of this houſe. 'Such a method of introducing an addreſs, I 'think inconſiſtent with the freedom and inde-'pendency of this aſſembly, and I think our 'mentioning or ſaying any thing of meaſures we 'know nothing of, in a parliamentary way, in-'conſiſtent with our dignity and honour.

'I am therefore, my Lords, for our reſuming 'the ancient method of addreſſing, and I think 'it more neceſſary upon this occaſion, than any 'former, becauſe our publick tranſactions, ſince 'laſt ſeſſion, have been ſuch as have not been ap-'proved of, I believe, by many Lords in this 'houſe, and I am ſure they have been complained 'of by the majority of the nation. No Lord 'will oppoſe, no man can find fault with our re-'turning his Majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious 'ſpeech from the throne, or with any general 'profeſſions we can make uſe of, for teſtifying

'our

'our duty and affection to him, and our zeal for 'his ſervice, which is the fartheſt we ought to 'go upon the preſent occaſion; and for this pur-'poſe, I have thought of a motion for an ad-'dreſs, which I hope your Lordſhips will ap-'prove of. As what I am to propoſe is not 'the work of many hands, and as I do not pre-'tend to underſtand any thing of the ſublime, 'my ſentiments may, perhaps, be but poorly ex-'preſſed; but this I can ſay, my motion is my 'own, and made without any man's direction. 'It is this, my Lords: "That your Lordſhips "do reſolve, That an humble addreſs be pre-"ſented to his Majeſty, returning him the thanks "of this houſe for his moſt gracious ſpeech from "the throne.

"To congratulate his Majeſty on his ſafe re-"turn to his regal dominions. To aſſure his Ma-"jeſty, that we will ſtand by him with our lives "and fortunes, in the proſecution of the juſt and "neceſſary war in which he is engaged.

"And as a further proof of our duty and af-"fection to his Majeſty's ſacred perſon, Royal "Family, and government, to aſſure him, that "we will exert ourſelves in our high capacity of "hereditary great council of the crown, [to "which all other councils are ſubordinate and ac-"countable] in ſuch a manner as may beſt tend to "the promoting the true intereſt of his Majeſty, "and our country, in this critical juncture."

This motion was ſeconded by the Lord *Bathurſt*, who upon that occaſion ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

Lord *Bathurſt*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'It was with great ſatisfaction I heard the mo-'tion now made to you: I confeſs I did not ex-'pect to hear any motion made by the noble

'Duke

'Duke upon this occaſion, and his ſtanding up 'gave me an anticipated ſort of pleaſure; be-'cauſe I ſuppoſed he was to conclude with a mo-'tion, and that motion, I foreſaw, would be 'more agreeable to the honour and dignity of 'this houſe, than any I had heard for ſome years 'upon the like occaſion. He has exceeded my 'expectations: The motion he has offered, is 'drawn up in as ſtrong terms as can poſſibly be 'expreſſed. There is nothing in it we can object 'to; and, I hope, it will be thought as full, as 'even his Majeſty's miniſters can juſtly expect 'from us upon this occaſion.

'My Lords, I have often found fault with 'that complaiſant, I ſhall not ſay fawning me-'thod, we have of late years fallen into, of echo-'ing back his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, 'and making our addreſs a ſort of panegyrick 'upon the conduct of our miniſters. It is a moſt 'dangerous departure from the method obſerved 'by our anceſtors: It is an innovation of ſo late 'a date, that even I remember when it was firſt 'introduced; and though it has ſince been gene-'rally obſerved, yet your Lordſhips know, that 'it has almoſt always been objected to by many 'Lords in this houſe, though they had not the 'good fortune to prevail in their oppoſition. 'The noble Duke has taken the right method, I 'think, for prevailing with us to reſume the an-'cient uſage of Parliament. He has propoſed 'an addreſs that cannot, I am ſure, be diſagreed 'to, and nothing can, I think, be added, with-'out weakening what he has propoſed. If there 'be any amongſt us, that incline to have compli-'ments made to our miniſters upon this occaſion, 'I do not ſee how they can be introduced; for I 'ſhall think it very extraordinary, to ſee a nega-'tive put upon a motion ſo full of ſtrong expreſ-'ſions of duty to his Majeſty and our country,

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'in order to make room for an addreſs ſtuffed 'with fulſome compliments to our miniſters.

'I know, my Lords, it is not neceſſary to ſe- 'cond any motion in this houſe, and therefore I 'now roſe up only to teſtify the ſatisfaction I re- 'ceived from hearing this motion made, and to 'declare my approbation of what the noble Duke 'has propoſed. I hope it will meet with no op- 'poſition: If it does, I may, perhaps, riſe up 'again to give you my ſentiments upon the ſub- 'ject; and if I ſhould, I hope the houſe will 'indulge me the favour of a hearing.'

The Lord *Haverſham* then ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following effect, *viz.*

'My Lords,

Lord *Haverſham*'s ſpeech and motion for an addreſs.

'The preſent ſtate of the affairs of *Europe* in 'general, as well as of this nation in particular, 'is ſo critical, and his Majeſty, in his ſpeech from 'the throne, has ſo fully laid that ſtate before us, 'that every man muſt be ſenſible of what the '*Britiſh* nation ought to do, and what a *Britiſh* 'Parliament ought to ſay to their Sovereign, 'upon this important occaſion; therefore, unex- 'perienced as I am, I ſhall venture to propoſe 'what I think ought to be the heads of your ad- 'dreſs, by way of anſwer to his Majeſty's ſpeech 'from the throne.

'His Majeſty has told us, that meaſures have 'been taken, that ſquadrons have been got ready, 'and land forces raiſed and embarked, both here 'and in *America*, for puſhing the war againſt '*Spain*, in the moſt proper places, and in the 'moſt vigorous and effectual manner; and that 'theſe things have been done, with as much ex- 'pedition as the nature of the ſervices, and the 'manning of the ſhips, would admit. Theſe, 'my Lords, are facts we have no occaſion to

'inquire

'inquire into: They are publickly known; and 'every one will allow, they were wiſe and right. 'We cannot, therefore, omit making our ac-'knowledgments to his Majeſty upon this ſub-'ject: We could not in gratitude have omitted 'it, even though he had been pleaſed not to 'mention any thing of it in his ſpeech.

'What reſolutions our neighbours have taken, 'or may take, with regard to the war between '*Spain* and us, are not yet openly declared, at 'leaſt they are not publickly known; but his 'Majeſty having hinted to us, in his ſpeech, as 'if ſome of our neighbours intended to attempt 'to preſcribe rules to us, I think we ought to 'thank his Majeſty for not allowing himſelf to 'be diverted, or deterred from the juſt and vigo-'rous meaſures he is purſuing, for maintaining 'the honour of his crown, and the undoubted 'rights of his people. And at the ſame time we 'ought to aſſure his Majeſty, that we will concur 'with him in all proper meaſures for reſenting 'ſuch an inſult, and for fruſtrating the deſigns 'that may be formed againſt us by any power 'whatſoever.

'This, I ſay, my Lords, we ought by no 'means to neglect, and we ought to take this 'which is the firſt opportunity of doing it; be-'cauſe when our neighbours ſee, that neither the 'King nor the nation is to be terrified by any 'threats they can make uſe of, nor by any deſigns 'they can form, it will make them reflect upon 'the danger they expoſe themſelves to, and this 'may prevent their attempting to carry ſuch de-'ſigns into execution.

'Another thing his Majeſty has mentioned in 'his ſpeech, I muſt take notice of, becauſe I 'think our inſerting a proper paragraph in our 'addreſs, by way of anſwer to what his Majeſty 'has ſaid upon that head, will be of the utmoſt

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'conſequence to the affairs of *Europe*, and may 'prevent a moſt general and a moſt dangerous 'war. Your Lordſhips muſt perceive, that I 'mean the important ſcene opened in *Europe* by 'the death of the late Emperor. His Majeſty 'has told us, and every one muſt ſee, that it is 'impoſſible to determine what turn the policy, 'intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts of '*Europe* may lead them to take in this critical 'conjuncture. Ambition, my Lords, is always for 'fiſhing in troubled waters, and the affairs of '*Europe* were never in a more troubled ſtate, 'than what they have been thrown into by this 'unhappy event. But when the powers of *Eu-* 'rope ſee that the *Britiſh* nation, as well as the '*Britiſh* King, are reſolved to maintain the ba- 'lance of power and the liberties of *Europe*, it 'may prevent not only the moſt ambitious, but 'the moſt powerful, from forming ſchemes for 'deſtroying what *Britain* appears reſolved to pre- 'ſerve. His Majeſty has done his part, by de- 'claring his reſolutions in his ſpeech from the 'throne. Do not let us be deficient in ours. 'Our acknowledging the wiſdom of his Majeſty's 'reſolutions in this reſpect, and taking this firſt 'opportunity to concur with him in theſe reſo- 'lutions, will very much encourage our allies, 'and contribute to the ſucceſs of thoſe negotia- 'tions his Majeſty may now be carrying on for 'eſtabliſhing the balance of power, and preſer- 'ving the tranquillity of *Europe*.

'I ſhall add no more, my Lords, but conclude 'with moving you to reſolve, "That an humble "addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return "him the thanks of this houſe for his moſt gra- "cious ſpeech from the throne.

"To acknowledge his Majeſty's great wiſ- "dom, and his adherence to the true intereſt "of his kingdoms, in reſolving to carry on this

"juſt

" juſt and neceſſary war in the moſt proper places,
" and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner;
" and in not ſuffering himſelf to be diverted or
" deterred from thoſe meaſures.

" To give his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances,
" that if any power ſhould attempt to preſcribe
" or limit the operations of war againſt his decla-
" red enemies, ſuch an extraordinary proceeding
" would not fail to create a juſt indignation in us,
" and determine us to concur in all proper mea-
" ſures for vindicating and defending his dignity
" and honour againſt any inſults, and fruſtrating
" any deſigns formed againſt us.

" To aſſure his Majeſty, that this houſe will
" zealouſly ſtand by and ſupport him in adhering
" to the engagements he is under for maintaining
" the balance and liberties of *Europe*, on the
" event of the late Emperor's death, as well as
" in the proſecution of the preſent war.

" To expreſs our unſhaken and unalterable
" fidelity and affection to his Majeſty's perſon
" and government, and our ardent wiſhes, that
" all his enterprizes for maintaining the honour of
" his crown, and the rights of his people, may
" be bleſſed with ſucceſs."

' Theſe, my Lords, are, in my opinion, the
' heads upon which our addreſs ought to be
' formed; but as I am little acquainted with the
' methods of proceeding in this houſe, I ſhall
' leave it to your Lordſhips to conſider, whether
' this propoſition, which I have ventured to make
' to you, ought to ſtand as a motion by itſelf, or
' whether it ought to be offered by way of
' amendment to what the noble Duke has been
' pleaſed to propoſe.'

Lord *Haverſham* having made his motion, the Earl of *Hyndford* ſtood up, and ſpoke to this effect, *viz.*

Earl of *Hyndford*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'If we conſider the preſent circumſtances of 'this nation, or the preſent ſituation of the affairs 'of *Europe*, I believe every one of your Lord-'ſhips will allow, that there never was a time, 'when there was a greater neceſſity for teſtifying, 'in the moſt publick and authentick manner, a 'perfect unanimity amongſt ourſelves, and a firm 'confidence in his Majeſty's wiſdom and conduct. 'We are now engaged in a war againſt one of 'the moſt powerful, and one of the moſt abſo-'lute monarchies in *Europe*. We have formerly 'been engaged in war ſolely for ſatisfying the 'ambition of our Sovereign, or the private piques 'and reſentments of ſome of his favourites; but 'during his preſent Majeſty's reign we can be in 'no danger of being engaged in war on any ſuch 'account. In every part of his conduct he has 'ſhewn, that he is ſwayed by nothing but the 'honour of his crown, and the happineſs of his 'ſubjects; and the preſent war he did not engage 'in, till the obſtinacy, injuſtice, and violence of 'the *Spaniards* made it evident to every man in 'the kingdom, that we could expect no ſatisfac-'tion for paſt injuries, nor ſecurity againſt future, 'by any thing but by force of arms. The war 'has been hitherto conducted with the utmoſt vi-'gour, in the moſt proper place, and with as 'much ſucceſs as could reaſonably be expected; 'but every one knows, that from the very be-'ginning of the war we were, and ſtill are in 'danger of having another enemy to ingage 'with, more powerful, and more capable to 'hurt us. This danger will increaſe in proportion 'to our ſucceſs, and nothing can contribute more 'to our eſchewing this danger, than that of 'ſhewing a perfect harmony and unanimity a-'mongſt ourſelves.

'With

'With regard to the preſent circumſtances of 'this nation therefore, we ought upon this occa- 'ſion, if ever, to expreſs our duty and affection 'to his Majeſty, our approbation of his meaſures, 'and our confidence in his wiſdom and conduct, 'in the moſt full and explicit terms. And with 'regard to the preſent ſituation of the affairs of '*Europe*, your Lordſhips muſt all be ſenſible, 'how tickliſh it has been rendered, by the late 'unfortunate death of the Emperor: By this un- 'timely accident, thoſe who are profeſſed enemies 'to the repoſe and liberties of *Europe*, have got 'ſuch an opportunity for carrying their ambitious 'and dangerous deſigns into execution, as they 'themſelves could ſcarcely have hoped for. By 'this accident, the Princes of *Germany* are left 'without a Head, (and God knows how long 'they may continue ſo) the *Germanick* body is 'thereby rendered lifeleſs and inactive, and the 'houſe of *Auſtria* is on every ſide environed with 'enemies, ready to tear from it the whole, or a 'great part of its dominions. In this ſituation 'nothing can preſerve the liberties of *Europe*; 'nothing can preſerve the liberties, the trade, or 'the navigation of this kingdom, but a ſpeedy 'alliance and confederacy amongſt thoſe Princes 'and States that are friends to liberty, for defeat- 'ing the deſigns of thoſe that are its declared 'enemies; and the forming of this alliance or 'confederacy will be greatly promoted or retarded 'by our behaviour in this ſeſſion of Parlia- 'ment.

'All the Princes and States of *Europe* are ſen- 'ſible of the weight and the power of this na- 'tion, when we act with concord and unanimity. 'If there appears to be a perfect unanimity a- 'mongſt ourſelves, and a good harmony between 'the King and his Parliament, the ſeveral powers 'whoſe intereſt it is to preſerve the liberties of

'*Europe* will put a confidence in this nation, as 'they have done heretofore, and will readily join 'with us in a confederacy for our mutual preſer-'vation; but if in this ſeſſion of Parliament we 'ſhould by any means ſhew a coldneſs in our du-'ty and affection to our Sovereign, or a diffidence 'in his conduct, the other powers of *Europe* can 'expect no aſſiſtance from his Majeſty; which 'will make them deſpair of being able to with-'ſtand the torrent; and the conſequence of this 'will be, that every one of them will endeavour 'to make the beſt terms they can for themſelves, 'and refuſe to join in any publick concert for op-'poſing the ambitious deſigns of thoſe who are, 'I may ſay, by nature as well as ſituation, the 'profeſſed enemies of *Great Britain*.

'Let us conſider, my Lords, what a dreadful 'and dangerous ſtate this nation will be reduced 'to, if the northern powers ſhould be ingaged in 'a war againſt one another, and the flames of a 'civil war kindled up amongſt the Princes of '*Germany*. The ſeveral branches of the houſe of '*Bourbon* will then be left at full liberty to turn 'their whole united force againſt this nation, and 'againſt this united force we muſt ſtand ſingle 'and alone; for the *Dutch*, as they lie open to 'the continent, and could expect no aſſiſtance 'from *Germany*, would not dare to aſſiſt us. We 'are already ingaged in a war againſt one of the 'branches of the houſe of *Bourbon*: Another, 'and the moſt powerful of them, has already 'ſhewn an inclination to preſcribe or limit the 'operations of our arms. In my opinion, they 'would have all united in the war againſt us, 'long before this time, if it had not been for the 'danger they may be expoſed to by our forming 'a powerful alliance upon the continent; and 'againſt ſuch an united force, it is hardly poſſible 'for us, in all human probability, to ſtand ſingle

'and

'and alone. It is therefore neceſſary for our ſafe-
'ty, as well as for our ſucceſs in the war we are
'now ingaged in, to prevent, if poſſible, a war
'in the north, or a civil war in *Germany*. This
'his Majeſty has reſolved on, and this he may
'effectuate, if a due weight be given to his ne-
'gotiations, by letting the world ſee, that his
'Majeſty will be ſupported by the united power
'of the Parliament and people of *Great Britain*.

'For this purpoſe, my Lords, we ought, in
'our addreſs upon this occaſion, to expreſs our-
'ſelves in as full and explicit a manner, as ever a
'*Britiſh* Parliament did to their Sovereign. An
'addreſs in general terms may, at other times,
'be right. The cuſtom of echoing back (as
'ſome affect to call it) his Majeſty's ſpeech from
'the throne, may, for what I know, be wrong;
'but it is a cuſtom that has prevailed for many
'years, and I am ſure it would be very wrong in
'us, at this critical conjuncture, to alter that
'cuſtom, or to ſhew leſs reſpect for our Sove-
'reign, than has for many years been ſhewn up-
'on the like occaſion; for which reaſon, I can-
'not but approve and ſecond the motion made by
'the noble Lord near me.'

As this laſt motion was the ſecond motion for the ſame purpoſe, and as by the forms of proceeding it was neceſſary to put a queſtion upon the firſt motion, before the ſecond could be come at, the Earl of *Cholmondeley* ſtood up, and after explaining the two motions a little, both which he cauſed to be read, that they might be the better underſtood, he ſaid, he ſuppoſed the noble Lord meant to propoſe his motion as an amendment to the noble Duke's motion. If this had been allowed of, the firſt queſtion would of courſe have been, To agree to the amendment propoſed; but Lord *Talbot* ſtood up, and ſhewed, that the

noble Lord neither meant, nor could mean to propoſe it by way of amendment, becauſe the firſt paragraph in both motions was word for word the ſame: That if the noble Lord had meant what he propoſed as an amendment to the noble Duke's motion, he would have propoſed, that the firſt paragraph only of the latter ſhould be left ſtanding, that the two other paragraphs ſhould be left out, and in their ſtead, by way of amendment, he would have moved to inſert the whole of what he has propoſed, except the firſt paragraph: But this he had not done. According to his manner of ſtating his propoſition, it was plainly a diſtinct and a ſecond motion, and therefore their Lordſhips were, by the forms of proceeding, to put the queſtion upon the firſt motion. Upon this the Lord Chancellor ſtood up and ſaid, That he roſe up only to ſpeak to their methods and order of proceeding: That he granted the motions ſeemed to be two diſtinct motions, and therefore if their Lordſhips did not approve of the firſt, and had a mind to come at the ſecond, the proper way would be to put the previous queſtion with regard to the firſt: However, he would make no motion; he ſpoke to order only, and would aftewards take an opportunity to ſpeak to the merits.

The Lord *Carteret* then ſtood up, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.*

Lord *Carteret*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'In this debate, as well as in a great many 'others, I find ſome Lords are mighty apt to 'run into a miſtake, which is of the moſt miſ-'chievous conſequence in all parliamentary inqui-'ries. They cannot, or will not diſtinguiſh be-'tween his Majeſty and his miniſters; but call all 'publick meaſures his Majeſty's meaſures, and

'from

'from thence ſuppoſe, that thoſe who find fault 'with any publick meaſure, are blaming his Ma- 'jeſty's conduct, and treſpaſſing againſt that duty 'and affection they owe to their Sovereign. 'This, my Lords, is a moſt unparliamentary 'method of proceeding; for it is well known, 'that his Majeſty's name ought never to be 'brought into any of our debates. When we 'take his Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, 'though we have heard it from his own mouth, 'yet we do not conſider it as his Majeſty's ſpeech, 'but as the ſpeech of his miniſters. Though we 'were in our private capacity convinced, that his 'Majeſty had ſpoke off-hand, and without pre- 'meditation, or adviſing with any one of his 'miniſters, yet when we come to conſider that 'ſpeech as members of this houſe, we are to con- 'ſider it as the ſpeech of his miniſters; for while 'they continue miniſters, they are anſwerable to 'Parliament for every thing the King does or 'ſays, and if they think this a hardſhip, they 'may eaſily avoid it, or get off on't, by refuſing 'to accept of, or by throwing up their employ- 'ments.

'With regard to all publick meaſures it is the 'the ſame. When we come to conſider them in 'this houſe, we are to look on them as the mea- 'ſures, not of the King, but of his miniſters, 'even though we were in our private capacity 'convinced, that the King had of his own head 'purſued thoſe meaſures, without conſulting with 'any of his miniſters, and perhaps contrary to 'their advice: This, I ſhall allow, is likewiſe a 'hardſhip upon miniſters, but it is a great advan- 'tage to the nation; and it muſt be allowed, that 'the hardſhip is not ſo great in making the mini- 'ſters and officers of the crown anſwer for what 'the King does, as in making them anſwer for 'what he ſays; for the King may ſpeak with-

'out the aſſiſtance of any miniſter or officer, but 'he cannot act, he can proſecute no publick mea-'ſure without the aſſiſtance of ſome of his mini-'ſters or officers. Therefore, when we hear any 'Lord adviſing us to approve of all his Majeſty's 'meaſures, to place an intire confidence in his 'Majeſty's wiſdom and conduct, we ought to 'turn it into the proper parliamentary language, 'and then it will ſtand thus: I adviſe you to ap-'prove of all the meaſures purſued by his Maje-'ſty's miniſters, and to place an intire confidence 'in their wiſdom and conduct; which is an ad-'vice that I hope your Lordſhips will always diſ-'dain to take. I am ſure it would be no ſign 'either of your duty and affection to your Sove-'reign, or of your regard to your country, to 'follow any ſuch advice.

'My Lords, I have as much affection for my 'Sovereign, and am as ſenſible of the duty I owe 'him, as any Lord in this houſe can pretend to: 'I have a great confidence in his wiſdom and 'conduct, when he is not miſled by his miniſters: 'But as a member of this houſe, I have no affec-'tion for his miniſters; I owe them no duty; 'and from what is paſt, I have no reaſon to put 'any confidence in their wiſdom or conduct. Our 'enemies may, perhaps, place a confidence in 'their miſconduct, but I am ſure our friends, 'neither abroad nor at home, can place any con-'fidence in their good conduct. Therefore, the 'beſt way to reſtore a confidence among our 'friends abroad, and our people at home, would 'be, to let them ſee that this houſe is reſolved 'to re-aſſume and exerciſe its ancient right of be-'ing his Majeſty's great and chief council; and 'that our future meaſures will be adviſed, not by 'thoſe who have led *Europe*, as well as their 'own country, into diſtreſs, but by a free and 'independent *Britiſh* Parliament. This, I ſay,

'would

'would be the proper way to reſtore a confidence 'in our future conduct among our friends, both 'abroad and at home; and nothing can contri- 'bute more to this deſirable, this neceſſary end, 'than our agreeing to the addreſs propoſed by 'the noble Duke.

'If your Lordſhips compare the two motions 'now before the houſe, you cannot but ſee the 'difference between the work of a miniſter, lay- 'ing ſnares for an approbation of his conduct, 'and the work of a free and independent mem- 'ber of this houſe, expreſſing his duty to his 'Sovereign with dignity and a true affection. 'The noble Duke's motion appears to be the 'work of a good workman. Whether your 'Lordſhips agree to it or no, it will remain upon 'record, and will for ever be an honour to him 'that propoſed it. It is ſtrong: It is *Laconick:* 'It expreſſes in a few words all the duty and af- 'fection to our Sovereign, that is meant by the 'other: It expreſſes more; it expreſſes that 'which is our real duty, and the beſt ſign of our 'affection to our Sovereign: I mean, that we 'will exert ourſelves in our high capacity of he- 'reditary great council of the crown, to which 'all other councils, even his Majeſty's cabinet 'council, are ſubordinate and accountable. Can 'your Lordſhips find fault with any one word in 'this motion? Will you weaken it by wire- 'drawing it, or by adding any undeſerved com- 'pliments to the miniſter?

'If no fault could be found with any of our 'late meaſures, if all of them deſerved the high- 'eſt approbation, the noble Duke's motion would 'be a proper motion, and all we ſhould ſay upon 'this occaſion. But when our meaſures are the 'ſubject of a general complaint at home, and an 'univerſal ridicule abroad, will your Lordſhips 'reject ſuch a motion, in order to come at a mo-

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'tion that implies an approbation of all our late 'measures? I say reject, my Lords, for the 'previous question is but a parliamentary method 'of rejecting. When such a motion as this is 'thrown out by the previous question, and ano-'ther upon the same subject agreed to, it is 'as effectually rejected, as if it had been rejected 'in express terms, because it can never afterwards 'be agreed to, which shews a very material dif-'ference between putting the previous question 'upon a motion of this nature, and putting it 'upon a motion that may the very next day be 'revived and agreed to. Therefore, if you 'throw out the noble Duke's motion, by means 'of the previous question, the whole world will 'think, we have rejected it, in order to pass 'compliments upon our minister's conduct. Will 'this, my Lords, add to the character of this 'assembly? Will it not occasion the most severe 'reflexions among all those that complain of our 'late measures at home, and also among all those 'that make our measures the subject of daily ri-'dicule abroad?

'By rejecting this motion, therefore, we ex-'pose ourselves to the danger of universal con-'tempt both abroad and at home: By agreeing 'to it, we cannot expose either ourselves or the 'nation to the least danger. Can our agreeing 'unanimously to such an address as this, be a 'sign of any discord amongst ourselves, or of 'any jealousy between the King and his Parlia-'ment? Or can it derogate from that confidence, 'which we ought to cherish in our allies? My 'Lords, if any discord should arise amongst our-'selves, they only are to blame, who endeavour 'to reject this motion, in order to make way for 'some compliments to our minister: If any jea-'lousy should arise between the King and his 'Parliament, they only are to blame, who endea-

'vour to ſcreen our miniſter under the ſacred 'name of Majeſty; and if any diſaffection ſhould 'ariſe among the people, they only are to blame, 'who endeavour to get the Parliament to ap- 'prove of what people in general condemn. By 'our agreeing to this motion we ſhall reſtore that 'confidence, which we ought to cheriſh amongſt 'our allies: By rejecting it, and approving of our 'late meaſures, we ſhall reduce them to deſpair. 'They deſpiſe our miniſters; they deſpiſe their 'conduct; their only hopes are in a free and in- 'dependent *Britiſh* Parliament. If they find that 'the Parliament continues to approve of the mi- 'niſter's meaſures by the lump, and without any 'inquiry, they will loſe the only hope they have 'left. They will no longer expect any change 'of meaſures or miniſters from the Parliament; 'and they can expect no wiſdom or conduct from 'a miniſter who has, for almoſt twenty years, 'been demonſtrating to the world, that he has 'neither wiſdom nor conduct. He may have a 'little low cunning, ſuch as thoſe have that buy 'cattle in *Smithfield* market, or ſuch as a *French* 'valet makes uſe of for managing an indulgent 'maſter; but the whole tenor of his conduct has 'ſhewn, that he has no true wiſdom. This our 'allies know and bemoan; this our enemies know 'and rejoice in; and this the preſent dangerous 'ſtate of affairs, both abroad and at home, is a 'melancholy proof of.

'I ſhould avoid, my Lords, the ungrateful 'taſk of ſhewing the blunders and errors in our 'late conduct, if the miniſters themſelves had 'not made it neceſſary for me to undertake it. If 'they had aſk'd no approbation, I ſhould, for 'this day at leaſt, have found no fault; but as 'they inſiſt upon having a parliamentary appro- 'bation, and for that purpoſe to have one of the 'beſt motions I ever heard made in this houſe,

'rejected,

'rejected, I think I am bound in duty, both to 'your Lordſhips and my country, to expoſe the 'weakneſs of their conduct, and to ſhew that 'the preſent ſtate of affairs, both at home and a-'broad, which they themſelves allow to be dan-'gerous, proceeds entirely from their own blun-'ders. With regard to the preſent circumſtances 'of this nation, we have been inſulted and plun-'dered by the *Spaniards*, for almoſt twenty years. 'Did this proceed from the power of *Spain*, or 'the weakneſs of this nation? Every one knows 'it did not. We had it always in our power to 'make that nation feel the weight of our re-'ſentment; and we let ſlip ſeveral opportunities, 'when we might have done it in a moſt exem-'plary manner, when there was no danger of 'their being aſſiſted by any power in *Europe*, 'and when we were ſure of aſſiſtance from our 'allies, if they had. From whence then did 'our diſhonourable and deſtructive patience pro-'ceed? From the weakneſs of our miniſter, and 'from that alone: He did not foreſee, or for 'ſome ſelfiſh end pretended he did not foreſee, 'that if we let one inſult paſs unpuniſhed, we 'were ſure of meeting with a ſecond. He truſted 'to negotiations and treaties, though he knew 'that ſuch inſults ought to put an end to all ne-'gotiation, and that ſuch depredations were in 'direct violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties. In 'this caſe, was it not evident, that we could truſt 'to no future treaty, that we could expect no 'ſecurity in time to come, but by a proper re-'ſentment of what was paſt: Yet he deferred 'reſenting for almoſt twenty years: He continu-'ed to ſuffer notwithſtanding the repeated com-'plaints of our merchants, and the repeated ad-'dreſſes of Parliament; and the *Spaniards* con-'tinued to inſult and plunder. By this conduct 'the nation was rendered ſo contemptible, that

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'the *Spaniards* thought they might uſe us as they 'pleaſed: This made them redouble their depre-'dations, and confirmed them in their obſtinacy; 'ſo that when our miniſter found himſelf obliged, 'for his own ſafety, to inſiſt peremptorily upon 'ſatisfaction and ſecurity, the *Spaniards*, imagi-'ning from his former puſillanimous conduct, 'that he would not dare to begin hoſtilities a-'gainſt them, as peremptorily refuſed his de-'mand.

'Thus your Lordſhips may ſee, that the war 'we are now engaged in, is intirely owing to the 'blunder of our miniſter; for if the firſt inſult 'put upon us by the *Spaniards*, after the treaty 'in 1721, had been properly reſented, and full 'ſatisfaction and reparation peremptorily inſiſted 'on, the *Spaniards* would not have ventured up-'on a ſecond, nor ſhould we have had occaſion 'for any new treaty, becauſe the old were ſuffi-'cient, if they had been obſerved. But this, my 'Lords, was not all; whilſt our miniſter, by his 'blundering timidity, to call it no worſe, was 'encouraging the *Spaniards* to continue their de-'predations, and to perſiſt obſtinately in their re-'fuſal of juſtice, by another train of blunders he 'was detaching from us every ally we had in 'the world, cementing a cloſe union between '*France* and *Spain*, and eſtabliſhing a laſting cauſe 'of quarrel between *Spain* and the Emperor. By 'the time he had effected theſe wiſe purpoſes, the 'inſolence of *Spain* towards us grew inſufferable: 'The people of this nation could bear it no lon-'ger; they would not allow him to bear it. Thus 'he found himſelf obliged to begin, or at leaſt 'not to oppoſe our beginning hoſtilities againſt '*Spain*, at the moſt unſeaſonable time he could 'have choſen during the whole courſe of his ad-'miniſtration; for that the time was unſeaſona-'ble, I ſhall readily admit; but we were under

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'an abſolute and dire neceſſity, and the neceſſity 'we were under, as well as the unſeaſonableneſs 'of the time, were both owing to our miniſter's 'miſconduct. Theſe meaſures he was, or pre- 'tended to be led into by the ridiculous conceit 'of preſerving the tranquillity of *Europe*, and 'the peace of this nation, at a time when every 'year, every month, was furniſhing us with a juſt 'cauſe of war againſt *Spain*, and conſequently 'with a good reaſon for diſturbing the tranquilli- 'ty of *Europe*, if we could, in order to have 'an opportunity for taking our revenge of the '*Spaniards*, without danger of their being aſſiſted 'by any other power in *Europe*.

'This, my Lords, was the conduct of our 'miniſter in time of peace; and ſince the war 'began, I am ſure it has been no way mended. 'After what the noble Duke, who muſt be al- 'lowed to be a good judge, had ſaid upon the 'ſubject, I was really ſurprized to hear it propo- 'ſed, that this houſe ſhould acknowledge the mi- 'niſter's great wiſdom, in reſolving to carry on 'this juſt and neceſſary war in the moſt proper 'places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual 'manner. I wiſh the noble Lord had told us 'when the miniſter took this wiſe reſolution, or 'how it appears that any ſuch reſolution has been 'yet taken. I am ſure, it does not appear from 'any thing yet done in any part of the world. 'This reſolution ought certainly to have been ta- 'ken, as ſoon as we reſolved to begin hoſtilities, 'and we ought to have begun hoſtilities by carry- 'ing this reſolution into execution: If we had 'done ſo, *Spain* would have been obliged to ſub- 'mit before this time: We might have put an 'end to the war by the firſt blow, if we had 'aimed it aright, and given it in the moſt vigo- 'rous and effectual manner.

'But

'But inſtead of this, my Lords, we have done 'next to nothing. It is now a year and a half 'very near, ſince we ought to have begun hoſti- 'lities; it is fifteen months ſince we iſſued orders 'for repriſals; it is thirteen months ſince we de- 'clared war: The war has already coſt us three 'or four millions, excluſive of the loſs our mer- 'chants have ſuffered from captures; and as yet 'we have done nothing beſides taking a few 'ſhips, and deſtroying a few caſtles. I am far 'from endeavouring to depreciate the ſervice done 'by Admiral *Vernon* at *Porto Bel* and *Chagre*; it 'was a moſt ſignal and ſurprizing ſervice, conſi- 'dering how he was provided; but it is but a 'trifle, conſidering what we might have done, 'and what he would have done, had he been 'properly provided; and I will venture to ſay, 'it was neither intended, nor expected, by our 'miniſter. Can we then acknowledge his great 'wiſdom in reſolving to carry on the war in the 'moſt proper place, or in the moſt vigorous and 'effectual manner? I ſay, my Lords, the mini- 'ſter's great wiſdom; for this is what muſt be 'intended to be meant by every paragraph in our 'addreſs, that relates to any paſt meaſure. In 'ſuch caſes, it is not his Majeſty's but his mini- 'ſter's great wiſdom we are to acknowledge; and 'thus his tools without doors will be inſtructed 'to explain it to the people.

'If your Lordſhips mean no ſuch thing, I 'hope you will be cautious of giving them any 'ſuch handle; for inſtead of giving any man a 'pretence to ſay, upon your authority, that the 'war has been puſhed in the moſt proper places, 'or in the moſt vigorous manner, I think you 'ought, as ſoon as poſſible, to enter into an in- 'quiry, why it has yet been puſhed in a vigorous 'and effectual manner in no place whatſoever. If 'we were in danger at the beginning of the war,

'of

'of having another enemy, beſides *Spain*, to engage with, it ſhould have been a reaſon for our puſhing the war at the beginning with all imaginable vigour, and with all poſſible diſpatch, in order to force the *Spaniards* to a ſubmiſſion, or to reap ſome ſignal and laſting advantages for ourſelves, before that other power could be prepared for aſſiſting them. But why ſhould this power be mentioned in our addreſs? They have not yet declared againſt us, and I am not for provoking ſuch a formidable power by words; for words ſometimes irritate more than deeds. If they ſhould declare againſt us, or if they ſhould attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of his Majeſty's arms, we muſt ſtand upon our own legs. I hope we ſhall ſhew them, that we are able to defend ourſelves, and make them repent joining with our enemies. They labour under ſeveral diſadvantages I could name, but as I am for deeds, when they become proper, and not for words, which can never be proper, I ſhall mention none of thoſe diſadvantages, becauſe it might give provocation, and can be of no ſervice. However, I may mention one advantage they have over us: They have a miniſter that is not only *reſpectable*, as they call it, but reſpected, both by the people and the King. This is a great advantage, for it is of infinite loſs to a nation to be under the conduct of a miniſter hated and deſpiſed by the people: It deſtroys or renders uſeleſs one half of their power; becauſe their enemies can do more with half, than they can do with double the force. Therefore, if we ſhould at laſt be involved in a war againſt *France* as well as *Spain*, I hope this houſe will uſe their endeavours, to have our affairs put under the conduct of thoſe that have ſome credit and eſteem among the people. If this houſe ſhould now begin to uſe endeavours

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'for this purpoſe, it might perhaps prevent the 'nation's being engaged in ſuch a heavy and 'dangerous war; for nothing can more encourage '*France* to join againſt us, than the little vigour 'we have yet ſhewn in the proſecution of the 'war.

'I know, my Lords, it has been ſaid, in ex-'cuſe for our not having puſhed the war with 'more vigour and diſpatch, that we could not 'ſpare any of the troops we had on foot at the 'beginning of the war; and that a body of land 'forces were ſent to the *Weſt-Indies* as ſoon as 'troops could be raiſed, and a ſquadron and tranſ-'port-ſhips provided for convoying and tranſport-'ing them thither. Suppoſe this were true, it is 'very bad policy in the preſent ſituation of the 'affairs of *Europe*, to make uſe of the argument. 'Does not every one know, that this nation can-'not be invaded by a great force, as long as we 'have a ſuperior fleet at ſea? A numerous land 'army cannot therefore be neceſſary, unleſs the 'greateſt part of our own people be diſaffected; 'and will any one ſay, that we muſt have at leaſt '30,000 men in *Britain* and *Ireland*, to ſupport 'the government againſt the diſaffected? Will 'this induce foreign ſtates to put a confidence in 'the power of this nation? Will this give weight 'to his Majeſty's negotiations, or enable him to 'form a confederacy for ſupporting the balance 'of power in *Europe?*

'My Lords, the Revolution is a proof, that 'when the people are generally diſaffected, an ar-'my is not to be depended on. If a ſmall foreign 'force ſhould by any means come ſafe aſhore in 'favour of the diſaffected, both the people and 'the army would join them, by which means 'thoſe that had enter'd into an alliance with his 'Majeſty, might meet with the ſame misfortune '*France* met with, by joining in an alliance with

'the late King *James*: They might thereby have 'the united power of *Britain* thrown into the 'ſcale againſt them. It is therefore a moſt un- 'wiſe, a moſt wicked, and a moſt falſe inſinua- 'tion, to pretend, that out of 30,000 men, the 'number of regular troops we had in *Britain* and '*Ireland* when the war began, we could not ſpare 'four or five thouſand to be ſent directly to the '*Weſt-Indies*. And it is as unwiſe, and as falſe 'to pretend, that we could not in a few weeks 'have provided a number of ſhips ſufficient for 'tranſporting them, and a ſquadron ſufficient for 'convoying them. At the time of the Revolu- 'tion, the *Dutch* provided a ſquadron of fifty 'men of war, and tranſports for 14,000 men, 'of which a great number was cavalry, in three 'months time, for accompanying the Prince of '*Orange* to *England*. I ſay, my Lords, in three 'months time; for it was in *July* that the firſt 'reſolution to aſſiſt the Prince of *Orange* was ta- 'ken by the States General, and they prepared 'with ſuch expedition, that ſoon after the begin- 'ning of *October* a fleet of fifty men of war, 'twenty-five frigates, twenty-five fire-ſhips, and 'near four hundred tranſports, with an army of 'ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, were 'ready to ſail, and actually did ſail upon the 19th 'of that month. If the *Dutch* were able to fit 'out ſuch a fleet in three months, ſhall it be pre- 'tended, will any one dare to inſinuate, that the '*Britiſh* nation was not able to fit out a ſquadron 'of twenty or thirty men of war, and tranſports 'for ſix or ſeven thouſand men, all infantry, in 'leſs than eighteen months? Thoſe that make 'ſuch inſinuations are, I am ſure, more ſolicitous 'about making an excuſe for the miniſter, than 'they are about the character of their country, 'or the credit of their Sovereign.

'Thus

'Thus it appears, my Lords, that our preſent 'ſituation, dangerous as it muſt be confeſſed to 'be, is intirely owing to the miſconduct of our 'miniſter; and I ſhall immediately ſhew, that 'the preſent unlucky ſituation of the affairs of '*Europe* is chiefly owing to the ſame cauſe. That 'the affairs of *Europe* are at preſent in a moſt 'unſettled ſtate, that the balance of power is in 'the moſt imminent danger, is confeſſed by the 'friends of our miniſter, and is by them made an 'argument for our approving of his conduct. 'How juſt this argument is, I ſhall leave to your 'Lordſhips to conſider. The affairs of *Europe* 'muſt be re-ſettled, the balance of power muſt 'be re-eſtabliſhed, either by a moſt difficult nego-'tiation, or by a moſt dangerous war; and this 'nation muſt, in either of theſe methods, have 'a principal ſhare. If by negotiation, ſhall we 'truſt the management of that negotiation to 'thoſe, who have been for twenty years negotia-'ting with *Spain*, and inſtead of adjuſting any 'one difference between the two nations, have 'rendered every one of them more perplexed, 'and have at laſt negotiated us into a war? If by 'war the affairs of *Europe* are to be re-ſettled, 'ſhall we truſt the management of ſuch a dan-'gerous war to thoſe, who have for near eighteen 'months been carrying on a war againſt the lan-'guid and defenceleſs kingdom of *Spain*, without 'reaping any one advantage to their native coun-'try, or doing any notable miſchief to the ene-'my? The preſent unlucky ſituation of the af-'fairs of *Europe* is, therefore, as ſtrong an argu-'ment as can be urged, for our inquiring into, 'inſtead of approving the conduct of our miniſter, 'and for our declaring in our addreſs upon this 'occaſion, as the noble Duke has deſired, that 'we will exert ourſelves in our high capacity of 'hereditary great council of the crown.

'If it could be ſaid, that our miniſter has had 'no hand in bringing the affairs of *Europe* into 'their preſent dangerous, I may ſay dreadful, ſi- 'tuation: If it could be ſaid, that their preſent 'ſituation is intirely owing to unforeſeen accidents, 'and not to any error in his conduct; yet his 'conduct with regard to *Spain* muſt convince 'every impartial man, that he neither knows 'how to conduct a negotiation, nor how to carry 'on a war. But can it be ſaid, that he has had 'no ſhare in bringing the affairs of *Europe* into 'their preſent diſtreſſed condition, or that this 'diſtreſſed condition is owing to any accident? 'Can the Emperor's death be called an accident? 'Can the death of any man be called an accident? 'My Lords, it is a true and a common proverb, 'Nothing is more certain than death: The time 'is uncertain, but the event is infallible; and 'therefore common prudence directs us to provide 'as ſoon as poſſible againſt every misfortune that 'may inſue from a perſon's death. The houſe of '*Auſtria* began early to provide againſt the death 'of the late Emperor by the Pragmatick Sanction; 'and if we had early enough taken proper mea- 'ſures for guarantying that ſettlement, the preſent 'unfortunate ſtate of *Europe* might have been 'prevented. The Pragmatick Sanction is far 'from being a late or a novel invention; it is 'founded upon the *Pacta Conventa* in 1703, be- 'tween *Leopold*, and his two ſons, *Joſeph* and '*Charles*: They were ſenſible of the prejudice 'their family would ſuffer by a diviſion of its 'dominions, they foreſaw the danger that would 'inſue from a diſputed ſucceſſion, and therefore 'they agreed, that the females as well as the 'males of their houſe ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the 'right of primogeniture. In 1713, this agree- 'ment was drawn into the form of a ſettlement 'or entail, and laid before the Emperor's council,

'where

'where it was confirmed, and the Pragmatick 'Sanction, the name then given to it, eſtabliſhed. 'In 1720, this Pragmatick Sanction was received 'and confirmed by the States of *Auſtria*, and 'ſoon after, an application was made to us for 'our guarantee. We had then an opportunity of 'getting the affairs of *Germany* ſo ſettled, as 'would have prevented any diſputes; but our 'preſent miniſter, who then began to have a 'great influence upon all our meaſures, had, it 'ſeems, laid it down as a maxim, To preſerve a 'cloſe correſpondence with the court of *France*, 'and therefore, leſt we ſhould diſoblige that 'court, we abſolutely refuſed the ſuit made to us 'by the court of *Vienna*, or to give ourſelves any 'trouble about the misfortunes that might be oc-'caſioned by the Emperor's death.

'This, my Lords, threw the Emperor into the 'arms of *Spain*, and the affront ſoon after put by 'the court of *France* upon that of *Spain*, toge-'ther with our miniſter's refuſing the ſole media-'tion offered, for adjuſting all the differences ſub-'ſiſting between *Spain* and the Emperor, which 'he refuſed likewiſe for fear of diſobliging *France*, 'made *Spain* as ready to fly into the arms of the 'Emperor, which produced the treaty of *Vienna* 'between theſe two powers in 1725. I ſhall ſay 'nothing, my Lords, of the terrible phantoms 'our miniſter took occaſion from this treaty to 'frighten us with. The over-grown power of 'the houſe of *Auſtria*, and that voracious crea-'ture *Don Carlos*, that was to ſwallow us all up, 'muſt be remembered by every man that has 'read or heard of the tranſactions of thoſe times. 'Nor ſhall I trouble your Lordſhips with remarks 'upon our counter-treaty of *Hanover*, which led 'us into ſuch a train of blunders, misfortunes, 'and expence; becauſe it has been often and ſuf-'ficiently expoſed. I ſhall only obſerve, that our

'conduct after that, for ſome years, made it impoſſible for the court of *Vienna* to make any farther progreſs in the Pragmatick Sanction, or in guarding againſt the misfortunes that were like to inſue upon the Emperor's death. At laſt, in 1731, our miniſter, in order to get out of a ſnare he had led himſelf into, agreed at once to an abſolute guarantee of the Pragmatick Sanction, without taking the leaſt care to adjuſt the differences that ſubſiſted between the houſe of *Auſtria* and the other Princes of *Germany*, and, I believe, without the leaſt thought how he was to make good that guarantee; for even the *Dutch* were at firſt no parties to that treaty; tho' they were afterwards prevailed on to accede to it upon certain conditions, by the good conduct of a noble Lord I have in my eye.

'But the difference between the *Dutch* conduct and ours is, in this reſpect, very remarkable: We jump'd into this guarantee without obtaining, without, I believe, aſking any one advantage for ourſelves, for the reaſon I have already aſſigned. The *Dutch* ſtood aloof for very near a twelvemonth, and made uſe of this handle to obtain, both from the Emperor and us, almoſt every favour they could aſk. They got us to interpoſe, and to procure a peace for them with the *Algerines*, tho' it was very much our intereſt to have prevented it; and they got us to interpoſe, and get a difference then ſubſiſting between them and *Denmark*, accommodated to their own ſatisfaction, tho' it was our intereſt to have protracted that diſpute. They got the Emperor to ſettle the affair of *Eaſt Friſeland*, ſo far as he could, to their liking; and to give them a ſecurity for the payment of a ſum of money due to them on account of the barrier in *Flanders*, beſides ſeveral other advantages: And at laſt they did not accede but upon conditions, and

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'not till after the Pragmatick Sanction had been 'guarantyed by the diet of the Empire. Will 'any one ſay, that the *Dutch* are not as much 'concerned about preſerving intire the poſſeſſions 'of the houſe of *Auſtria* as we are? Will any one 'ſay, we are not as able to ſtand upon our own 'legs as the *Dutch* are? We had, it is true, very 'little to aſk from the houſe of *Auſtria* in favour 'of ourſelves; but we might have obtained ſome 'conceſſions in favour of ſome Princes, that would 'have made the guarantee of the Pragmatick 'Sanction a leſs knotty point than it is like to 'prove.

'The Imperial Court having thus, as I have 'ſaid, my Lords, obtained the guarantee of this 'nation, they immediately applied themſelves to 'the diet of *Ratiſbon*, and got the Pragmatick 'Sanction eſtabliſhed, and guarantyed by almoſt 'the unanimous conſent of the Princes and States 'of the Empire, even before the *Dutch* had ac-'ceded to that guarantee. The Electors *Palatine*, '*Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and the little Biſhop of *Frey-'ſengen*, whom the Duke of *Bavaria* got to join 'with them, were the only Princes that proteſted 'againſt it: Of theſe the Elector of *Saxony* has 'ſince joined in the guarantee; and the others 'did not proteſt againſt it on account of any claim 'that either of them pretended to the whole or 'any part of the dominions of the houſe of *Au-'ſtria*, but on account of *Hungary* and thoſe other '*Auſtrian* dominions being included in the gua-'rantee, which were properly no part of the 'Empire.

'From this account your Lordſhips will ſee, 'that the eſtabliſhment of the Pragmatick Sanc-'tion was long delayed, even in the Empire itſelf, 'by the blunders of our miniſter, and by his 'moſt unaccountable attachment to the court of '*France*; but this was not the ſole bad conſe-

'quence of his miſconduct. The Pragmatick 'Sanction was guarantyed, but the differences a-'mong the Princes of the Empire remained unad-'juſted, and no care was taken for preventing 'diſputes about the election of an Emperor, in 'caſe of the death of the then Emperor, before 'the Empire's having choſen a King of the *Ro-'mans*, both which points might have been ſet-'tled, if we had taken right meaſures for that 'purpoſe before guarantying the Pragmatick 'Sanction; but as one blunder generally leads a 'man into a ſecond, and from that to a third, 'our miniſter was drove headlong into this gua-'rantee, by a blunder he had committed in the 'treaty of *Seville*.

'This, my Lords, is one of the chief cauſes 'of the preſent dangerous ſtate of affairs in *Eu-'rope*, and the other cauſe is ſtill more manifeſtly 'owing to his miſconduct. By his cauſeleſsly 'picking a quarrel with the Emperor, on account 'of the treaty at *Vienna* in 1725, and by the 'meaſures he took after the treaty of *Hanover*, 'he reſtored and cemented an union between the 'courts of *France* and *Spain*, and threw a bone 'of contention between the courts of *Madrid* and '*Vienna*, which produced the war in 1733 againſt 'the Emperor; and by our inactivity in that war, 'the Emperor was diveſted of the two *Sicilies*, 'and the whole Dukedom of *Lorain* annexed to 'the crown of *France*; and, which was worſe 'than either, not only a diſtruſt but a ſort of re-'ſentment created in the court of *Vienna* againſt 'this nation, which makes me doubtful, whether 'the death of the late Emperor was a loſs or an 'advantage to us. But whatever it was to the 'nation, I am convinced, it was an advantage, at 'leaſt a temporary advantage, to our miniſter; 'for while he continued in the adminiſtration of 'our affairs, and the Emperor lived, *France* knew

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'we could expect no aſſiſtance from the court of '*Vienna*. This left them at full liberty to join 'with *Spain* againſt us; and they would probably 'have done ſo before this time, but by the Em-'peror's death their attention was drawn another 'way, which made them ſuſpend declaring a-'gainſt us. The Emperor's death was, therefore, 'a temporary advantage to our miniſter; but if 'we do not now play our cards very dextrouſly, 'which, I am perſuaded, it is not in his power to 'do, this temporary advantage may end in the 'thraldom of *Europe*, and the ruin of this nation.

'I hope, my Lords, I have now ſhewn, that 'whatever danger there may be in the preſent 'ſituation of the affairs of *Europe*, it is intirely 'owing to the miſconduct of the miniſter, whoſe 'meaſures we are now deſired implicitly to ap-'prove of; but tho' I muſt allow the danger to 'be great, yet if this nation acts with tolerable 'prudence and vigour, I do not think it near ſo 'great as it has been repreſented; and therefore 'I cannot think it was right to mention the Em-'peror's death in the manner in which it is men-'tioned in his Majeſty's ſpeech. We ought not, 'in ſuch an anticipated manner, to ſuggeſt jea-'louſies and fears about the balance of power and 'the liberties of *Europe*. The Pragmatick Sanc-'tion is a ſecurity againſt all attempts upon either. 'Let us, conſider, my Lords, that the Pragma-'tick Sanction was but lately guarantyed by '*France* for a very valuable conſideration; and 'that no power in *Europe* will attempt any thing 'againſt that ſettlement without the aſſiſtance of '*France*. If the preſent *French* miniſters ſhould 'begin to act againſt what they guarantyed ſo 'lately as in the Year 1738, it would render 'them as odious as the *French* miniſtry was in '*Lewis* the XIVth's time, which at laſt raiſed 'ſuch a confederacy againſt that nation, as made

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'their Grand Monarch tremble upon his throne. 'Such a bare-faced breach of faith would hang 'like a load of iron about their necks: It would 'draw the iron of all the powers of *Europe* upon 'them; and therefore I cannot believe they will 'attempt any ſuch thing, unleſs they are prompt-'ed to it by a ſuppoſed timidity or perplexity in 'the counſels of this nation. This they may 'perhaps, from our late conduct, have ſome 'ground to ſuppoſe; and for this very reaſon, we 'ought to agree to the noble Duke's motion, in 'order to ſhew them that our future counſels are 'to flow from a very different fountain."

The next that ſtood up was the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'If the preſent criſis of affairs did not, in my 'opinion, require from us ſomething extraordinary 'upon this occaſion, I ſhould moſt readily agree 'to the noble Duke's motion, becauſe I think 'our duty and affection to his Majeſty cannot be 'more ſtrongly or more emphatically expreſſed, 'than they are in his motion; but as ſeveral cir-'cumſtances of affairs abroad require from us 'ſome particular expreſſions of duty and affection 'adapted to thoſe circumſtances, and as the noble 'Lord near me has taken care to make uſe of ex-'preſſions in his motion extremely proper for this 'purpoſe, I muſt be for our agreeing to the ſe-'cond motion, tho' I have all imaginable regard 'for the firſt, as well as I have for the noble 'Duke that made it.

'The objections I have hitherto heard againſt 'the ſecond motion are all founded upon a ſup-'poſition, which, I think, cannot be drawn from 'any thing expreſſed in the motion. It is ſup-'poſed, my Lords, that the ſecond motion con-

'tains an implied approbation of all our paſt meaſures. I heard the noble Lord make it; I afterwards heard it read over at your table; I have ſince read it over by myſelf with the utmoſt attention, and I proteſt I cannot find ſo much as an implied approbation of any one meaſure lately tranſacted. It contains indeed an expreſs approbation of ſome of his Majeſty's reſolutions, which he has been pleaſed to mention to us in his ſpeech from the throne; but thoſe reſolutions, call them his Majeſty's or call them the miniſter's, which your Lordſhips will, are ſuch as, I am certain, no Lord in this houſe, nor any man in the nation, that wiſhes well to his country, will diſapprove of. His Majeſty has told us, that he is reſolved to carry on the war in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner; in anſwer to which the noble Lord propoſes, that we ſhould acknowledge his Majeſty's great wiſdom, and his adherence to the true intereſt of his kingdoms, in reſolving to carry on the war in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner. We are not to thank his Majeſty for having carried on the war in the moſt proper places, or in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner; we are only to acknowledge his wiſdom in having reſolved to do ſo: And is not this a right reſolution? Is there any man in the kingdom will ſay it is wrong?

'By this therefore we do not approve of any paſt meaſure; we do not approve of any thing that has been done; we only approve of what his Majeſty reſolves to do, and this every one of your Lordſhips muſt approve of, whether you expreſs it in your addreſs or no. It is the ſame with regard to the other reſolution, and the only other reſolution referred to by any thing propoſed in the ſecond motion. His Ma-

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'jeſty in his ſpeech has told us, that if any other 'power ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe 'or limit the operations of his arms, he is reſol-'ved not to be diverted or deterred by that or 'any other incident, from thoſe juſt or vigorous 'meaſures which he is purſuing, for maintaining 'the honour of his crown, and the undoubted 'rights of his people; and in anſwer to this, it 'is propoſed by the ſecond motion, that we 'ſhould acknowledge his Majeſty's wiſdom, and 'his adherence to the true intereſt of his king-'doms, in not ſuffering himſelf to be diverted or 'deterred from carrying on the war in the moſt 'proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and ef-'fectual manner. Is this ſo much as an implied 'approbation of any late meaſure, or of any 'thing that has been done? Is it any more than 'an approbation of his Majeſty's reſolution not 'to ſuffer himſelf to be diverted or deterred? 'And is not this a reſolution that every well-'wiſher to this kingdom muſt approve of?

'The other parts of his Lordſhip's motion 'contain nothing but aſſurances, and, I think, 'very proper and very neceſſary aſſurances, of 'our concurring with and ſupporting his Majeſty 'in all proper meaſures, for vindicating and de-'fending his Majeſty's dignity and honour againſt 'any inſults, for fruſtrating any deſigns formed 'againſt us, and for maintaining the balance and 'the liberties of *Europe*. Therefore, my Lords, 'the late conduct of our miniſters, or if your 'Lordſhips pleaſe, the miniſter, has nothing to 'do in this debate, nor is it abſolutely neceſſary 'to anſwer any of the objections that have been 'made to it; but as I think myſelf perſonally 'concerned, I hope your Lordſhips will forgive 'me, if I endeavour to vindicate ſome of thoſe 'meaſures that have been found fault with, eſpe-'cially as I am reſolved, in doing ſo, to take up

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'as little of your Lordſhips time as poſſible. The 'noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, whoſe knowledge in 'political affairs is very extenſive, and whoſe 'judgment I ſhall always have a great regard for, 'has been pleaſed to inform us of a fact which, 'I confeſs, I was before an utter ſtranger to. As 'I do not pretend to any great knowledge of 'thoſe affairs in which I have had no concern, I 'ſhall readily own, that I knew nothing of any 'application's having been made to us by the 'court of *Vienna*, for our guarantee of the Prag-'matick Sanction, ſo early as ſoon after the Year '1720. But if ſuch an application was made, 'and we at that time refuſed the requeſt, I cannot 'think it was for the reaſon the noble Lord has 'been pleaſed to aſſign: There might be ſeveral 'other reaſons, and even the noble Lord himſelf 'has been pleaſed to hint ſomething of what was, 'I believe, the true reaſon. At that time there 'were ſeveral differences ſubſiſting between the 'court of *Vienna* and ſome of the other powers 'of *Europe*, particularly *Spain*. We perhaps 'thought the court of *Vienna* a little intractable, 'as has often been the caſe, and that therefore it 'was proper for us to delay yielding to their re-'queſt, till we ſhould get them to make ſuch 'conceſſions as might engage other powers, par-'ticularly *Spain*, to join with us in that guaran-'tee. If this was the reaſon for our refuſing our 'guarantee at that time, it was a very prudent 'reaſon, even according to the noble Lord's me-'thod of arguing; and it is more probable, that 'this was our reaſon, than that any unaccounta-'ble attachment to the court of *France* could be 'the cauſe of our delaying at that time to gua-'ranty the Pragmatick Sanction.

'However, my Lords, it is very probable the 'court of *Vienna* conceived a reſentment againſt 'us upon that account, which reſentment was

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'ſoon after very much heightened by the diſpute 'about the *Oſtend* company; and as *Spain* had 'likewiſe a reſentment againſt us, on account of 'our refuſing to deliver up *Gibraltar*, which, 'they ſaid, the late King had promiſed, this joint 'reſentment threw theſe two courts into the arms 'of one another, and made them join in thoſe 'unjuſt and dangerous engagements, which they 'entered into by the ſecret articles of the treaty 'concluded at *Vienna* in 1725. Theſe engage-'ments, my Lords, made it neceſſary for us to 'concert and conclude the treaty of *Hanover*; 'and when by that treaty, and the wiſe and vi-'gorous meaſures we took in purſuance of it, 'both the Emperor and *Spain* ſaw it was not in 'their power to hurt us, or to ſupport the *Oſtend* 'trade in defiance of us, or, in ſhort, to carry 'any of their projects againſt us into execution, 'the court of *Vienna* found it neceſſary to recon-'cile themſelves to us by ſacrificing their *Oſtend* 'company, and the court of *Spain* by giving up 'the pretenſions they made to *Gibraltar*. We 'had then an opportunity to reconcile ourſelves 'with both theſe courts, which it is always our 'intereſt to do as ſoon as we can upon reaſonable 'and honourable terms; and to reconcile them 'with one another, which it is the intereſt of *Eu-'rope* as well as ours to have done, provided that 'reconciliation be founded upon a deſign to pre-'ſerve and not to diſturb the tranquillity of *Eu-'rope*. This we did by getting the Emperor to 'conſent to the introduction of *Spaniſh* troops in-'to *Italy*, and by getting *Spain* to join with us in 'the guarantee of the Pragmatick Sanction, both 'which we accompliſhed in the Year 1731.

'Thus, my Lords, it appears, that our delay 'in guarantying the Pragmatick Sanction, was 'not owing to any miſconduct in our miniſters, 'but to the miſconduct of the court of *Vienna*,

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'in ſetting up an *Eaſt-India* company at *Oſtend*, 'contrary to the title by which they held the 'Netherlands, and in entering into ſuch engage-'ments with *Spain*, as could not but raiſe the in-'dignation, as well as reſentment of this nation. 'The haughtineſs and obſtinacy of that court are 'well known: It required a long time as well as 'vigorous meaſures to prevail with them to make 'proper and juſt conceſſions to us, to the *Dutch*, 'and to the *Spaniards*. As ſoon as we found 'them willing to do this, we guarantyed the 'Pragmatick Sanction: The court of *Spain* very 'ſoon after did the ſame; and if the *Dutch* did 'not immediately come into that guarantee, it 'was owing to their form of government, which 'made it neceſſary for us to lead the way, in or-'der to furniſh an argument to that party amongſt 'them that were for the guarantee, for prevailing 'with thoſe that were againſt it.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, the *Dutch* had abſo-'lutely refuſed to guaranty the Pragmatick Sanc-'tion; ſuppoſe they did not or would not ſee 'their real intereſt, was that a reaſon for us to 'neglect ours? Suppoſe they lie by, or perhaps 'aſſiſt in overturning the liberties of *Europe*, 'would that be a reaſon for us to do the ſame? 'We were therefore in the right to agree to that 'guarantee, as ſoon as we found the court of *Vi-'enna* ready to do what was proper for that pur-'poſe; and if any diſputes remained among the 'Princes of the Empire, if no method was ſettled 'for preventing diſputes about the election of an 'Emperor, it was owing to the nature of things, 'and not to any miſconduct in us; for if the gua-'rantee had been delayed, till all theſe matters 'ſhould be ſettled, I am convinced, it would ne-'ver have been agreed to. Theſe diſputes might 'have remain'd, but the Pragmatick Sanction's 'being guarantyed by the Empire, by *Muſcovy*,

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'by *Spain*, and by *Great Britain*, if all the parties had been ſincere, and the court of *Vienna* ſatisfied with the ſecurity they had obtained, would have prevented any power in *Europe* from daring to diſturb the tranquillity thereof, on account of any of thoſe diſputes. But the inſincerity of *Spain*, which ſoon afterwards appeared, could neither be foreſeen nor provided againſt; nor could it be imagined, that the court of *Vienna* would enter into a concert with *Muſcovy* for over-awing the election, and forcing a King upon the republick of *Poland*.

'This, my Lords, leads me of courſe to conſider our conduct when the war broke out between *France* and the Emperor. It is very certain, that war was occaſioned by the conduct of the court of *Vienna* with regard to the affair of *Poland*: And we are here to conſider, that the only attachment we have to the court of *Vienna* is on account of preſerving the balance of power in *Europe*. We are on this account to ſhew ourſelves friends to the houſe of *Auſtria*, as long as they do not attempt to overturn that balance; but we are not to be the ſlaves of that houſe, and to fight their battles whenever they have a mind, or engage in every quarrel they may draw upon themſelves. The preſervation of the balance of power and liberties of *Europe*, does not ſo much depend upon preſerving entire the dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, as in taking care that none of thoſe dominions ſhall devolve to any potentate in *Europe*, whoſe power by that acceſſion may become dangerous to the publick liberty. The Emperor had drawn that war upon himſelf, and therefore we were not obliged by any treaty or alliance to aſſiſt him. We were only to take care that neither *France* nor *Spain* ſhould, by the event of that war, get ſuch an acceſſion of power as might endanger

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'the balance of power in *Europe*. This was the 'maxim the *Dutch* went upon as well as we; and 'it was a right maxim. But ſuppoſe it had been 'otherwiſe, it would have been very dangerous 'for us, and of the moſt pernicious conſequence 'to our trade, to have engaged in that war, 'whilſt the *Dutch* remained at Peace, and conſe-'quently in an uninterrupted enjoyment of trade 'and commerce. It was therefore our buſineſs 'to delay engaging till the *Dutch* found it neceſ-'ſary to engage as well as we: This they would 'have done, if *France* and her allies had puſhed 'their ſucceſs too far: For preventing this, it 'was neceſſary for us to make preparations, and 'in this the *Dutch* kept equal pace with us, ſo 'far as the forms of their republick would admit.

'I hope, my Lords, I have now made it ap-'pear, that the preſent ſtate of affairs in *Europe*, 'however dangerous it may be, is not owing to 'any miſconduct in our miniſters. It is entirely 'owing to the late Emperor's not having had a 'ſon, to the diſunion among the Electors about 'chuſing a ſucceſſor to the imperial dignity, and 'to the Emperor's dying before this diſunion 'could be removed: Theſe muſt all be allowed 'to be accidents, becauſe every one of them 'might have happened otherwiſe; and to theſe 'accidents the preſent unſettled ſtate of affairs in '*Europe* is ſolely to be attributed. Then as to 'our conduct in our late negotiations with *Spain*, 'every one knows it was ſuch as was recom-'mended by the Parliament itſelf; for the Parlia-'ment always adviſed his Majeſty to try what 'could be done by peaceable means, before hav-'ing recourſe to warlike; and if the negotiations 'were drawn out to a great length, it was owing 'to the tender regard his Majeſty had for the 'trade of his ſubjects, and the advice of his Par-'liament, which made him reſolve not to have

'recourſe to arms, till he was abſolutely certain 'that no other method would prevail. Not only 'the method of negotiation was recommended 'by Parliament, but every material ſtep of that 'negotiation has been approved by Parliament, 'therefore I am ſurprized to hear it now found 'fault with; and as to our conduct ſince the war 'began, I am convinced no fault will be found 'with it by thoſe who conſider the circumſtances 'we were in when the war broke out. Our not 'ſending a land force to the *Weſt-Indies* ſooner 'than we have done, was entirely owing to the 'few troops and the few ſeamen we had in the 'nation, when it became neceſſary for us to begin 'hoſtilities; and to our being obliged to provide 'for our defence at home, and for the ſecurity of 'our valuable poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*.

'I am far from ſaying, my Lords, that 30,000 'regular troops in *Britain* and *Ireland* are neceſſa- 'ry for ſupporting the government againſt the 'diſaffected, or for preventing our preſent happy 'eſtabliſhment's being overturned by a ſudden 'invaſion with a ſmall number of troops. The 'people are ſo generally well affected to his Ma- 'jeſty, and to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, 'that, in all human probability, we ſhould at the 'long run be able to defeat any inſurrection that 'could be made by the diſaffected, or any inva- 'ſion that could be ſuddenly made for aſſiſting 'them, even tho' we had not one regular regi- 'ment in the kingdom. But, my Lords, we are 'to think of and provide for the quiet of the 'people, as well as for the ſupport of the govern- 'ment; and therefore we are to conſider how to 'prevent, as well as how to defeat any inſurrec- 'tion or invaſion. For defeating an inſurrection 'or invaſion, after a long ſtruggle and a great 'deal of miſchief done to the country, it may 'not perhaps be neceſſary to keep near the num-

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'ber of 30,000 regular troops in *Great Britain* 'and *Ireland*; but for taking away from our ene- 'mies at home all hopes of ſucceſs, and thereby 'preventing an inſurrection; and for taking away 'from our enemies abroad all hopes of being able 'to do us any notable miſchief, and thereby pre- 'venting an invaſion, I will ſay, that 30,000 'regular troops is the leaſt number we ought to 'keep up in *Britain* and *Ireland*, even in time of 'peace, and by much too ſmall a number in time 'of war; and therefore I will ſay, that we could 'not in prudence ſpare to ſend any land forces to 'the *Weſt-Indies*, till after we had conſiderably 'augmented our army at home, becauſe, tho' it 'would not have expoſed our government to the 'danger of being overturned, it would have ex- 'poſed us to the danger of having our domeſtick 'tranquillity interrupted by an inſurrection or in- 'vaſion; and I am ſure, the beſt way for enabling 'ourſelves to proſecute the war abroad with vi- 'gour, is to preſerve the tranquillity at home with 'care.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we could have ſpared 'ſome of our land forces, we could not get ſea- 'men enough at firſt for fitting out all the ſqua- 'drons we had occaſion for, and for providing a 'ſufficient number of tranſport ſhips. We had 'been for a long time in profound peace, for 'which, I think, we ought to thank our mini- 'ſters, though ſeveral Lords ſeem now to be of a 'contrary opinion. We had ſeldom, for many 'years, had occaſion to fit out any great number 'of men of war; by which our national ſtock 'of ſeamen came by degrees to be reduced to a 'number ſcarcely ſufficient for carrying on our 'trade, and for manning the number of ſhips of 'war we uſually keep in commiſſion in time of 'peace. At the beginning of this war we were 'obliged to keep one very ſtrong ſquadron upon

'our own coaſts, eſpecially as *Spain* was actually 'preparing to invade us, and as we were not very 'ſure what another power might do, if we had 'laid ourſelves open to an invaſion: We were 'obliged to employ a great many ſhips of war 'for convoying and protecting our trade; and we 'were obliged to keep a ſtrong ſquadron in the '*Mediterranean* for protecting *Gibraltar* and *Mi-*'*norca*, eſpecially the latter, which was actually 'threatened with an attack. Theſe preparations, 'which were indiſpenſable for our own defence, 'made it impoſſible for us to provide, at the very 'beginning of the war, ſuch a powerful ſquadron, 'and ſuch a number of tranſports, as were neceſ-'ſary for making a vigorous attack upon the ene-'my in the *Weſt-Indies*. This was at the very 'beginning of the war reſolv'd on; preparations 'were made for it with the utmoſt expedition; 'and if the fleet had met with a fair wind as ſoon 'as it was ready, we might perhaps, before now, 'have heard ſome joyful accounts of its ſucceſs.

'I have now, I think, my Lords, anſwered all 'the objections that have been made to our con-'duct, or to the motion which the noble Lord 'was pleaſed to propoſe; and ſhall conclude with 'giving my reaſons for preferring his motion to 'that made by the noble Duke.

'My Lords, I am far from finding fault with 'any of the expreſſions contained in the noble 'Duke's motion; and I believe, if they are un-'derſtood in the ſenſe he meant them, no objec-'tion can be made to any one of them. How-'ever, I muſt obſerve, that there are ſome words 'in what he has propoſed, which, I think, in 'prudence ought to be left out, becauſe they may 'be miſunderſtood; and if they ſhould, it would 'of courſe occaſion a breach between the two 'houſes, which, in the preſent conjuncture, would 'be of the moſt fatal conſequence. When I ſay

'this,

'this, I am perſuaded every one of your Lord-
'ſhips ſuppoſes, that I mean the words, "To
"which all other councils are ſubordinate and
"accountable." This expreſſion is ſo general,
'that I am afraid it may be miſunderſtood by the
'other houſe. I am convinced the noble Duke
'does not mean any ſuch thing, but I am afraid,
'ſhould we make uſe of ſuch an expreſſion in
'our addreſs, the other houſe would ſuppoſe we
'thereby meant to aſſert ſome ſort of juriſdiction
'over them, which would of courſe make them
'inſiſt upon an explanation; and the two houſes
'might very probably diſagree about the terms of
'this explanation.

'Therefore, my Lords, if we were to agree to
'this motion, I think an amendment ought to be
'made, by leaving out theſe words, before we
'agree to it; but I think the whole, as well as
'this particular expreſſion, is too general. I ſhall
'admit that the noble Duke, ſo far as he goes,
'has expreſſed himſelf, as he always does, in the
'ſtrongeſt and cleareſt terms; and for this reaſon,
'I hope your Lordſhips will avoid putting a ne-
'gative upon the motion: But the preſent con-
'juncture of affairs, both foreign and domeſtick,
'is ſo critical, that we ought not to content our-
'ſelves with general expreſſions of duty and af-
'fection to our Sovereign, however ſtrong, how-
'ever clear, thoſe expreſſions may be. His Ma-
'jeſty has in his ſpeech repeated to us his reſolu-
'tion to proſecute the war in the moſt proper
'places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual
'manner: This is a right reſolution, and our ap-
'proving of it in a particular manner, will have
'great weight with our declared enemies, in
'making them reſolve to ſubmit betimes to rea-
'ſonable terms. His Majeſty has in his ſpeech
'inſinuated ſome danger of another power's at-
'tempting to limit the operations of war againſt

'our declared enemies, but that he is reſolved not 'to be diverted or deterred from thoſe juſt and 'vigorous meaſures he is purſuing: This is a 'right reſolution, and our approving of it in a 'particular manner will certainly be of great ad-'vantage to the nation; it may alter the reſolu-'tions of our ſecret enemies; when they ſee that 'both the King and Parliament of *Great Britain* 'are reſolved not to be diverted or deterred from 'proſecuting the war in the moſt proper manner 'for bringing it to a ſpeedy and happy iſſue, it 'may prevent their daring to attempt what they 'are at preſent perhaps reſolved to attempt; and 'our declared enemies being thus rendered deſti-'tute of all hopes of ſuccour from our ſecret ene-'mies, they will immediately think of avoiding 'the ſtorm, which, they will then ſee, can be a-'voided no other way, but by a ſpeedy ſubmiſ-'ſion to what they themſelves muſt confeſs to be 'reaſonable.

'Thus, my Lords, with regard to our own 'affairs, it will be of great advantage to the na-'tion, and therefore I think it abſolutely neceſſary 'for us to give his Majeſty upon this occaſion, 'in a particular manner, our thanks for the vi-'gorous reſolutions he has taken, and the ſtrong-'eſt and moſt particular aſſurances, that we will 'ſtand by and ſupport him in thoſe reſolutions. 'And with regard to the affairs of *Europe*, can 'we at ſuch a critical conjuncture omit to aſſure 'his Majeſty, that we will ſtand by and ſupport 'him, in adhering to the engagements he is un-'der, for maintaining the balance and liberties 'of *Europe*, on the event of the late Emperor's 'death? We know, my Lords, what a brittle 'thing a treaty is, let it be never ſo ſolemn. The 'Pragmatick Sanction is, it is true, guarantyed, 'but to thoſe that are willing, the election of an 'Emperor may probably furniſh a loop-hole for

'getting out of that guarantee; and our neglecting upon this occaſion to return a proper anſwer upon this ſubject, would ſhew ſuch a lukewarmneſs in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, with regard to the balance and liberties of *Europe*, as might very much encourage thoſe who are already too willing to incroach upon both.

'For theſe reaſons, my Lords, I think we ought to take care, in our addreſs upon this occaſion, to return a proper and a particular anſwer upon each of theſe heads; and as the noble Lord, in the motion he has been pleaſed to make, has expreſſed himſelf in the handſomeſt manner upon each of theſe heads, I muſt give it the preference to that made by the noble Duke; but as the latter, ſo far as it goes, is ſo genteely, and at the ſame time ſo warmly expreſſed, I would not have a negative put upon it; and therefore, in order to come at the ſecond motion, I ſhall take the liberty to move your Lordſhips for the previous queſtion with regard to the firſt.'

The next that ſpoke was the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was thus:

'My Lords,

'As I never did, as I hope I never ſhall deſire to ſcreen myſelf or any of my freinds behind the throne, I ſhall always be cautious of bringing his Majeſty's name into any debate in this houſe; but upon this occaſion I muſt be more cautious than uſual, becauſe in this debate it is impoſſible to argue with that freedom which becomes a member of this houſe, without taking ſuch liberties with our paſt meaſures, and what are ſaid to be our preſent reſolutions, as would ill ſuit with the name of Majeſty: Therefore, when I talk of meaſures or reſolutions, I ſhall Earl of *Cheſterfield*'s ſpeech.

'do what every Lord in this houſe ought; I 'ſhall ſubſtitute the name miniſter inſtead of Ma-'jeſty, and I hope your Lordſhips will do me 'the juſtice to ſuppoſe, that whatever I may ſay, 'however I may expreſs myſelf, it is far from 'my heart to intend the leaſt reflection upon my 'Sovereign.

'I ſhall likewiſe, my Lords, be at all times 'extremely cautious of giving praiſe, either to 'the meaſures or the reſolutions of miniſters; be-'cauſe their meaſures are often wrapt up in ſuch 'clouds, that I cannot clearly diſcern them, and 'their ſecret reſolutions are too often contrary to 'their open profeſſions. But when I ſee miniſters 'begging hard for a little incenſe, and endeavour-'ing to have a motion rejected, with which even 'they themſelves can find no fault, in order to 'make room for encomiums which they them-'ſelves have prepared, I ſhall always then be for 'denying their requeſt, till I have examined into 'their merit. *Latet anguis in herba*, I ſhall then 'think a moſt reaſonable and neceſſary ſuſpicion, 'and therefore I ſhall be for turning over, and 'ſearching narrowly into the weeds under which 'the ſerpent may lie concealed, before I ſet a foot 'in any of thoſe ſteps which they deſire me to 'tread.

'As the miniſter's reſolutions are chiefly the 'ſubject of this debate, it is proper I ſhould begin 'with them; and here, my Lords, I muſt ob-'ſerve, that it is very unuſual, if not unprece-'dented, for this houſe to thank or applaud any 'miniſter for his reſolutions. I have heard of 'miniſters, generals, admirals, and even private 'men getting the thanks and applauſes of this 'houſe for important ſervices rendered to their 'country; but I do not remember to have ever 'heard of any man's getting the thanks of either 'houſe of Parliament for a reſolution, he ſaid,

'he had taken. Therefore, ſo far as I remember, 'what is now deſired of us muſt be allowed to be 'without precedent; but this I ſhould have no 'great concern about, if I thought it would like-'wiſe be without conſequence. The neceſſary 'conſequence of our acknowledging the wiſdom 'of any reſolution will be this: The world will 'from thence ſuppoſe, that we were fully con-'vinced of the miniſter's having taken ſuch a 'reſolution; and if it ſhould afterwards appear 'from his conduct, that he had never taken any 'ſuch reſolution, what will the world think of 'our penetration and integrity? They muſt con-'demn either one or t'other; they will, probably, 'condemn both; and of what fatal conſequence 'this may be to that character which we ought 'to preſerve both at home and abroad, I ſhall 'leave your Lordſhips to judge.

'After what is premiſed, I ſhall beg leave, my 'Lords, to examine the reſolutions which the 'miniſter tells us he has taken. He ſays, he has 'reſolved to proſecute the war in the moſt proper 'places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual 'manner. My Lords, he told us the ſame thing 'at the cloſe of laſt ſeſſion: Can any one ſay, 'that it has ſince been proſecuted in any place, 'or in any manner? We muſt therefore conclude, 'either that the reſolution was not then taken, 'or that it has ſince been altered; and is this a 'reaſon for our believing that it is now taken, 'and that it will be purſued, only becauſe he 'ſays ſo? A formidable ſquadron with a fleet of 'tranſports has now ſailed, very lately, my 'Lords; but it is not the firſt time he has ſent 'out formidable ſquadrons to do nothing. As 'the ſame miniſter formerly ſent out a ſquadron 'to perſuade the *Spaniards* to give up their ſhips, 'this ſquadron may perhaps be ſent out to per-'ſuade the *Spaniards* to give up their ſettlements,

'and

'and their perſuaſions will, I am convinced, have 'as little effect. I therefore wiſh your Lordſhips 'would ſuſpend your acknowledgments, till you 'are convinced of the reſolution's being taken, 'by its effects. I am ſure, from the miniſter's 'paſt conduct, your Lordſhips have no reaſon to 'believe, that he will ever proſecute any war, or 'any foreign meaſure in which there is the leaſt 'difficulty, with vigour and effect. After the 'treaty of *Hanover*, he proſecuted a war againſt 'the *Spaniards*, or at leaſt he allowed them to 'proſecute a war againſt this nation, for above 'two years: Did he on his part proſecute it with 'vigour or effect? He has been negotiating with 'the *Spaniards* ever ſince the treaty of *Seville*, 'about obtaining ſatisfaction for paſt injuries, and 'ſecurity againſt future: They indeed, during 'moſt of that time, proſecuted their depredations 'with vigour and effect; but can it now be ſaid, 'that he negotiated with vigour or effect? He 'has now been proſecuting open hoſtilities againſt '*Spain* for near ſeventeen months: Has he yet 'done any thing? Has he attempted any thing 'that, had it proved ſucceſsful, would have com-'pelled that haughty and obſtinate nation to 'ſubmit to equitable terms? Does not the world 'know, does not the world ſtand amazed, that 'we have not as yet done any thing? Does it 'not ſeem as if ſome malign planet hung over 'our counſels, and retarded or diſappointed every 'vigorous reſolution? And ſhall we upon an *ipſe* '*dixit* acknowledge the wiſdom of ſuch a mini-'ſter, in reſolving to proſecute the war in the 'moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous 'and effectual manner?

'Another reſolution, my Lords, which we are 'to acknowledge the wiſdom, and thereby con-'feſs the truth of, is, that our miniſter has reſol-'ved not to be diverted or deterred from the juſt

'and

'and vigorous meaſures he has reſolved to purſue, 'by the attempts of any power whatſoever to 'limit, or preſcribe bounds to, our warlike opera-'tions. Here, my Lords, are two facts which 'we are to affirm the truth of, without the leaſt 'ground but the miniſter's *ipſe dixit*. We are to 'affirm, that ſome foreign power threatens, or 'ſeems inclined to attempt to limit the operations 'of the war on our ſide; and we are to affirm, 'that our miniſter has reſolved not to be diverted 'or deterred by thoſe threats or appearances. 'Theſe are two facts which we are to affirm the 'truth of, at leaſt the whole world will conclude, 'that we believe them to be true, if we ſhould 'agree to what the noble Lord has propoſed; 'and I wiſh the noble Lord that made the mo-'tion, or any other Lord, would ſhew me, what 'parliamentary authority we have for believing 'either.

'Our *Gazettes*, I know, my Lords, have told 'us, that the *French* have ſent two ſquadrons to 'the *Weſt-Indies*; and from the nature of things 'we may ſuppoſe, that they will endeavour to 'limit our warlike operations againſt *Spain*, be-'cauſe it is their intereſt to do ſo, if they find 'they can do it without expoſing themſelves to 'great danger. But is a common news-paper an 'authority upon which we can found any reſolu-'tion? My Lords, as members of this houſe, we 'do not know that they have ſent a ſhip to the '*Weſt-Indies*, nor do we know that they have 'ever made the leaſt inſinuation of their being 'reſolved to interpoſe in the war between us and '*Spain*; and, I am ſure, it is no compliment to 'our miniſter to imagine that they will dare to 'interpoſe, becauſe we muſt grant that he has 'negotiated to very little purpoſe, if the *French* 'have any ground to think that they may ſup-'port *Spain* in ſuch an unjuſt war againſt this na-'tion,

'tion, without expoſing themſelves to any great 'danger. We have therefore no parliamentary 'authority for believing that the *French* will at-'tempt to limit our operations of war againſt '*Spain*, nor have we any authority from the na-'ture of things, without ſuppoſing that the mi-'niſter deſerves to be cenſured, inſtead of having 'his wiſdom acknowledged.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we had a parliamen-'tary authority for believing, that the *French* 'have ſent their ſquadrons to the *Weſt-Indies*, 'and that they have ſent them thither with a 'deſign to limit our operations againſt *Spain*; as 'they have not yet openly and publickly declared 'their deſign, I think, it would be wrong in us 'to take notice of it in our addreſs: I think it 'was wrong to put any words relating to it into 'his Majeſty's ſpeech. It is a ſort of boaſting, 'which is never right either in publick or private 'life. Let us do, my Lords, and not boaſt of 'what we ſhall do. Let us ſhew, by our actions 'and not by our words, that we are not to be 'diverted or deterred from doing whatever we 'think proper for maintaining the honour of the 'crown, and the undoubted rights of the people. 'In all caſes of danger, it is a rule not to believe 'a fellow that boaſts of what he will do; and if 'we apply this rule to the preſent caſe, we ought 'from thence to conclude, that our miniſter is 'not reſolved not to be diverted or deterred by 'the court of *France* from puſhing the war againſt '*Spain* in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt 'vigorous and effectual manner.

'This, I ſay, my Lords, we ought to con-'clude, if we had no other reaſon beſides his 'boaſting manner of declaring his reſolution; but 'if we conſider his paſt conduct, eſpecially his 'conduct ſince the beginning of the preſent war, 'we have many additional reaſons for concluding,

'that

'that he neither has taken, nor is capable of taking any ſuch reſolution. When we conſider his paſt conduct, we muſt, I think, conclude, not only that he has been diverted and deterred by the court of *France* from doing what he ought to have done, but alſo that he has been influenced and led by that court, to do many things which he ought not to have done; and therefore, before we believe, or give cauſe to others to think we believe, that he is now reſolved not to be diverted or deterred by the menaces or attempts of *France*, we ought to ſtay till we are convinced of it by what he does, and not by what he ſays. In all his paſt meaſures he has never ſaid that he was, he has often affirmed that he was not diverted or influenced by the court of *France*, though from his actions it has plainly appeared; and that it may ſtill more evidently appear, I hope, your Lordſhips will give me leave to make a few obſervations upon what the noble Duke has been pleaſed to ſay in excuſe for our miniſter's conduct, in which the noble Duke may, perhaps, think himſelf perſonally concerned, but if he does, I believe I may aſſure him, that he thinks worſe of himſelf than any man in the kingdom does.

'The noble Duke was pleaſed to ſay, that if we refuſed to guaranty the Pragmatick Sanction when it was deſired of us ſoon after the Year 1720, the reaſon was, becauſe there were then ſome differences ſubſiſting between the Emperor and *Spain*. If this, my Lords, was our reaſon for refuſing the guarantee at that time, was it not a ſtrong reaſon for our accepting of the ſole mediation ſoon after offered to us, for removing thoſe differences? It certainly was; but our miniſter was deterred by the court of *France* from accepting of that mediation, as well as he was from agreeing to the guarantee, tho' it was

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'very much the intereſt of his country to have 'accepted of the one, and agreed to the other.

'With regard, my Lords, to the ſecret engage-'ments ſaid to have been entered into by the 'courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna* in the year 1725, 'they were ſo poſitively and ſo publickly denied 'by the Emperor and *Spain*, as well as by a 'great party in this kingdom, that if our mini-'ſters could have produced any poſitive proofs of 'ſuch engagements having been entered into, I 'am ſure, they would for their own vindication 'have publiſhed them; and even ſuppoſe the fact 'had been true, ſuch engagements might have 'raiſed our indignation, but ought not to have 'raiſed our reſentment. We ought to have de-'ſpiſed them, becauſe they were ſuch as it was 'impoſſible for the contracting parties to execute. 'But I am fully convinced, and all the world 'now believes, there never were any ſuch en-'gagemens. The caſe was quite otherwiſe. We 'were invited to accede to that treaty, and it was 'very much our intereſt to do ſo, in order to re-'ſtore the antient alliance between this nation, '*Spain*, and the Emperor. This was diametri-'cally oppoſite to the intereſt of the court of '*France*, therefore they reſolved to prevent it; 'and our miniſter being then, as he has been 'ever ſince, very much under the influence of 'the court of *France*, the ſtory of theſe ſecret 'engagements was cook'd up by that court, per-'haps in concert with our miniſter, in order to 'prevail with his late Majeſty to come into their 'meaſures; and by the ſame ſort of influence, 'this nation was afterwards made the cat's paw 'for breaking off all correſpondence between the 'courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, for eſtabliſhing a 'laſting cauſe of quarrel between them, and for 'reſtoring and confirming a firm union between 'the courts of *France* and *Spain*.

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'As to the *Oſtend* company, my Lords, it was 'an affair with which we had very little to do, 'any other way than as it might breed a quarrel 'between the Emperor and the States General: 'In this light, indeed, it was our buſineſs to pre-'vent, if poſſible, the ſetting up of any ſuch 'company; and if we had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, 'and peremptorily declared againſt the ſetting up 'of any ſuch company, we might have prevented 'the granting of their charter; but after the char-'ter was granted, I am ſure it was not the buſi-'neſs of this nation to be more forward and more 'zealous than the *Dutch* in taking meaſures a-'gainſt it. I doubt much if the *Dutch*, notwith-'ſtanding the influence their *Eaſt-India* company 'have upon their publick affairs, would on that 'account have come to an open rupture with the 'Emperor; becauſe their company, by leſſening 'their profits for a few years, might have ruined 'the *Oſtend* company, without engaging their 'government in the diſpute. But as the *Oſtend* 'company would have interfered very much with 'the *French India* trade, then in its infancy, and 'as our miniſter was under the influence of the 'court of *France*, he was prevailed on to repre-'ſent the *Oſtend* company, as an affair of the ut-'moſt conſequence to this nation, and to make it 'a condition *ſine qua non* in the continuation or 'renewal of our freindſhip with the Emperor.

'There was therefore no one reaſon in the 'world, beſides the influence of the court of '*France*, that could induce this nation to con-'clude the treaty of *Hanover*; and much leſs was 'there a reaſon for our taking thoſe meaſures af-'terwards which put this nation to ſo great ex-'pence, run it into ſuch a labyrinth of negotia-'tions, created an open rupture between us and '*Spain*, and had like to have led us into a war, 'in conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, againſt

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'the Emperor. If the deſign of the treaty of 'Vienna had been to attack this nation or the 'Dutch, we were ſufficiently provided for our 'defence, and even for aſſiſting the Dutch, with-'out putting ourſelves to any new expence, till 'after the attack had been begun; and if the de-'ſign of that treaty was to attack the French, I 'am ſure it was none of our buſineſs to prevent 'it.

'I was really ſurprized to hear the noble Duke 'aſſert, that by the treaty of Seville the Spaniards 'gave up their pretenſions to Gibraltar. By that 'treaty, my Lords, they gave up nothing; all 'their diſputes with us, and all the pretenſions 'they had ſet up againſt us, were left in ſuſpence; 'and we expreſsly yielded up a point which was 'of the moſt pernicious conſequence to the affairs 'of Europe, and was a new demonſtration of the 'influence the court of France had over our 'miniſter. I mean the introduction of Spaniſh 'troops into Italy, which we not only conſented 'to, but engaged to aſſiſt in making it good. 'This was like to have engaged us in a war a-'gainſt the Emperor; and to avoid this, which 'our miniſter foreſaw, no Britiſh Parliament could 'be prevailed on to approve, he was led on to 'the precipitate and ill-conducted treaty with the 'Emperor in 1731, by which he guarantyed the 'Pragmatick Sanction in the moſt abſolute terms, 'and engaged in a defenſive alliance with the 'Emperor, as expreſs and general as any that 'could be concluded.

'This treaty ſtood in full force in the year '1733. The Emperor had done nothing I know 'of to diſoblige us: Therefore, to know whether 'we were obliged to aſſiſt him at that time, when 'he was attacked by France, Spain, and Sardinia, 'we muſt conſider the affairs of Poland, which, 'the French pretended, were the cauſe of that

'attack.

'attack. I ſhall not enter into the diſpute, whether *Auguſtus* or *Staniſlaus* was duly elected 'King of *Poland*: Perhaps neither of them was; 'but this I will ſay, that it was of dangerous 'conſequence to the balance of *Europe* to have '*Staniſlaus* in the quiet poſſeſſion of that crown; 'therefore we ought to have concurred with the 'Emperor in all peaceable methods for preventing 'his election; and if the Emperor brought a war 'upon himſelf by what we either did or ought to 'have concurred with him in, I think we were in 'honour bound to aſſiſt him, even though there 'had been no defenſive alliance between us. But 'the point of duty was not then the only point 'we had to conſider; the point of intereſt was of 'greater weight; and conſidering the diſputes we 'then had with *Spain*, it was our intereſt at any 'rate to preſerve a cloſe correſpondence with the 'court of *Vienna*. The preſervation of the balance of power in *Europe* was not then the only 'attachment we had to that court: Our own 'immediate ſafety was another and a ſtronger attachment. We might have foreſeen what we 'are now ſo much afraid of; we might then have 'foreſeen the danger of having *France* and *Spain* 'united in a war againſt us; and therefore, for 'our own immediate ſafety, we ought to have 'ſupported at any riſk our alliance with the court 'of *Vienna*, unleſs we were reſolved to bear with 'the inſults and depredations of *Spain*, as long as 'they had a mind to continue them; which was, 'perhaps, the reſolution of our miniſter, and a 'reſolution he ſeemed reſolved to ſtand to, if the 'ſpirit of the nation had not forced him to alter 'it.

'The war therefore is no proof of any alteration in his conduct, farther than he is forced to 'by the ſpirit of the people; and the proſecution 'hitherto gives ſome people a ſuſpicion, that he

'deſigned it rather as an amuſement for our own 'people, than as a method for compelling the 'enemy to do us juſtice: At leaſt, I am ſure, we 'have as yet no proof of his not being diverted 'or deterred, by the menaces of *France*, from 'proſecuting the war in a vigorous and effectual 'manner; and as I have ſhewn, that in other 'parts of his conduct, he has been often deterred 'by the court of *France* from doing what he 'ought to have done, and even influenced by 'them to do what he ought not to have done, I 'think we ought to wait for ſuch a proof before 'we make him any acknowledgments upon that 'head.

'For this reaſon, my Lords, I cannot agree to 'that part of the noble Lord's motion, which 'propoſes our making acknowledgments to the 'miniſter for his wiſdom in the reſolutions he has 'taken; and as for the aſſurances propoſed to be 'made to his Majeſty, I think they are all con-'tained in what the noble Duke has propoſed, 'and much more ſtrongly and ſublimely expreſſed. 'The ſublime is always *Laconick*; and the noble 'Duke has taken care to expreſs himſelf in the 'moſt *Laconick*, and the moſt comprehenſive 'manner. I ſhall never be againſt making the 'ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and affection to his 'Majeſty; but let us do it with dignity: Zeal 'may ſometimes carry men too great a length: I 'remember a gentleman once ſaid in the other 'houſe, He would ſacrifice his life and fortune, 'and more if it was neceſſary, to the ſervice of 'his Sovereign. I do not ſay there is any ſuch 'blunder in what the noble Lord has been pleaſed 'to propoſe; but I think his profeſſions and aſſu-'rances are a little too much exaggerated, and by 'being ſo they are weakened. To aſſure his Ma-'jeſty, that we will ſtand by him with our lives 'and fortunes, in the proſecution of the juſt and

'neceſſary

'neceſſary war in which he is ingaged, is as much 'as we can ſay with regard to the preſent war; 'and if your Lordſhips think it neceſſary, you 'may add, or in any war in which his Majeſty 'may be neceſſarily ingaged, for maintaining the 'balance and liberties of *Europe*, on the event of 'the late Emperor's death.'

The next that ſpoke was the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was thus:

'My Lords,

'I believe it will be found upon examination, 'that no cuſtom, good or bad, was ever intro- 'duc'd without ſome reaſon, and by inquiring 'into the reaſon or cauſe of any cuſtom's being 'firſt introduced, we may generally determine, 'whether it be in itſelf good or bad. The cuſ- 'tom, therefore, of returning in our addreſs, a 'particular anſwer to every thing the King is 'pleaſed to communicate to us by his ſpeech from 'the throne, let it be a bad or a good cuſtom, is 'not without its cauſe; and that cauſe, I believe, 'is to be found among the many good alterations 'that were made in our conſtitution by the happy 'Revolution. Before that time, our Kings were 'ſeldom very fond of Parliaments, and conſe- 'quently not very fond of communicating their 'meaſures to them. They ſeldom communicated 'to Parliament, either what they had done, or 'what they intended to do; and no wonder, 'for their meaſures were generally ſuch, as they 'knew the Parliament would not approve of. 'Whilſt this continued to be the caſe, there is 'nothing ſtrange in ſeeing the addreſſes of both 'houſes of Parliament conceived in general terms; 'for the Parliament could not deſcend to particu- 'lars, when nothing particular had been ſaid to 'them in the ſpeech from the throne. But as the

Earl of *Cholmondeley*'s ſpeech.

'publick meaſures, ſince the Revolution, have 'generally been ſuch as were deſign'd, at leaſt, 'for the publick good, they have been particular-'ly communicated to Parliament, at the begin-'ning of every ſeſſion, by the Sovereign's ſpeech 'from the throne; and this, moſt reaſonably, I 'think, introduced the cuſtom of our being a lit-'tle more particular in our addreſſes, by way of 'anſwer to that ſpeech.

'Another reaſon, my Lords, for introducing 'this cuſtom, may be drawn from the different 'methods of granting the ſums neceſſary for the 'ſupport of our government. Before the Revo-'lution, all the ſums neceſſary for the ſupport of 'our government were granted in general, and 'without appropriating any particular part of 'them to any particular ſervice; but ſince that 'time, particular clauſes of appropriation have 'been introduced. The ſums neceſſary for the 'ſupport of the civil liſt, are granted at the be-'ginning of each King's reign, for the term of 'the King's life, and are particularly appropriated 'to that ſervice; but with regard to all other 'ſervices, the ſums neceſſary for them are grant-'ed but from year to year by Parliament, and 'are all appropriated by Parliament to their par-'ticular reſpective ſervices, which creates a much 'greater dependence in the crown upon Parlia-'ment, and makes it neceſſary for the Sovereign 'to communicate particularly to his Parliament 'the meaſures he intends to purſue, as far as 'they can be communicated conſiſtently with the 'publick good; and this again makes it neceſſary 'for us to be a little more particular in thoſe ad-'dreſſes, which are intended as anſwers to his 'Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne.

'Theſe, my Lords, I take to be the reaſons 'for introducing that cuſtom, which is now ſo 'much exclaimed againſt, and which we are de-

'fired to aboliſh, though the reaſons for it are 'now as ſtrong as they were when the cuſtom 'was firſt introduced. I believe none of your 'Lordſhips will find fault with any of the alterations which gave birth to this cuſtom: I believe 'they will be allowed to be both prudent and 'neceſſary; and therefore, I cannot condemn a 'cuſtom, which appears to be founded upon alterations ſo highly commendable. At leaſt, I 'ſhall not condemn it, till I ſee it producing effects much worſe than any I can at preſent apprehend from it. It is a ſort of mutual complaiſance between King and Parliament, which, 'in my opinion, can never produce any bad effect; becauſe it is allowed to be of no ſuch authority, as to influence any of our future proceedings: And as the cuſtom has been now ſo 'long eſtabliſhed, I think, we cannot alter it, 'without giving the world cauſe to think, that 'we diſapprove ſome part of what his Majeſty 'has been pleaſed to communicate to us in his 'ſpeech from the throne, which, I am convinced, 'is not what your Lordſhips intend; becauſe, I 'think, his Majeſty has ſaid nothing in his ſpeech 'but what your Lordſhips muſt approve. You 'muſt approve his Majeſty's reſolving to puſh 'the war in the moſt proper places, and in the 'moſt vigorous and effectual manner: You muſt 'approve his being reſolved not to be diverted 'or deterred from proſecuting theſe meaſures, by 'the threats or attempts of any power whatſoever; and you muſt approve his Majeſty's being 'reſolved to adhere ſtrictly to the engagements 'he is under, for maintaining the balance and liberties of *Europe*, on the event of the late Emperor's death.

'Theſe, my Lords, are all of them wiſe and 'good reſolutions: Let them be his Majeſty's 'reſolutions, as I am convinced they are, or let

'them be the miniſter's reſolutions, as it is poſſi-
'ble they may, they are ſuch as your Lordſhips
'muſt approve of. Let them be taken or not
'taken, purſued or altered, ſtill they are ſuch as
'muſt be approved by every man that wiſhes
'well to his country; and as his Majeſty has
'mentioned them in his ſpeech, your Lordſhips
'ought, I think, to teſtify your approbation of
'them by mentioning them in your addreſs. If
'I thought that thoſe concerned in the admini-
'ſtration had not come to any ſuch fix'd reſolu-
'tions, notwithſtanding what his Majeſty has ſaid
'in his ſpeech; or if I thought that any one,
'who has the honour of being admitted into his
'Majeſty's councils, would adviſe him to alter,
'or not to purſue theſe reſolutions; ſo far from
'its being an argument with me, not to ſay any
'thing of them in our addreſs, it would be an
'argument for our mentioning them in the moſt
'particular manner, and approving of them in
'the moſt expreſs and peremptory terms that
'could be invented; and the reaſon is very plain:
'If ſuch reſolutions are not already taken by
'every one concerned in the adminiſtration, a
'ſtrong recommendation of them from this aſ-
'ſembly would compel their being immediately
'taken: If there were a probability, that ſome
'one in his Majeſty's councils would adviſe him
'not to purſue theſe reſolutions, a particular and
'expreſs recommendation of them from this
'auguſt aſſembly would deter the boldeſt from
'giving his Majeſty ſuch pernicious counſel.

'This conſideration, my Lords, is with me a
'moſt prevalent one for agreeing to the noble
'Lord's motion. It will inforce thoſe reſolutions,
'which his Majeſty has been pleaſed to tell us he
'has come to. It will ſhew his miniſters what
'advice they ought to give him, and what ad-
'vice they muſt not dare to give him: It will

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'ſhew our enemies, both ſecret and revealed, what 'they muſt expect; and it will ſhew our friends, 'both abroad and at home, what they may hope 'for from his Majeſty's arms, not only in the 'preſent war, but in any other his Majeſty may 'be neceſſarily engaged in, for preſerving the 'balance and liberties of *Europe*. Theſe will, I 'think, be the effects of our agreeing to the no-'ble Lord's motion; and as there is nothing in it 'that implies the leaſt approbation of any paſt 'meaſure, or that can any way prevent our in-'quiring into paſt meaſures, and cenſuring ſuch 'of them, as may upon inquiry appear to be 'wrong, there is not, I think, the leaſt danger 'in our agreeing to it; but in altering our method 'of addreſſing at this critical conjuncture, which 'will be the conſequence of our agreeing to the 'noble Duke's motion, I think there is not only 'great danger, but ſome ſort of injuſtice. The 'noble Lords who have argued in favour of the 'firſt motion, have ſaid, That we ought not to 'approve, or to ſay any thing that may look like 'an approbation of paſt meaſures, without a pre-'vious inquiry. I am ſure we ought as little to 'do any thing that may look like a cenſure of 'paſt meaſures, without a previous inquiry; and 'as our forſaking a cuſtom that has been ſo long 'eſtabliſhed, will, in my opinion, look very like 'a cenſure of paſt meaſures, I ſhall therefore be 'againſt altering our method of addreſſing, eſpe-'cially as there is nothing now propoſed, that 'can look like an approbation of any paſt mea-'ſures, or our conſenting to any future meaſures, 'but ſuch as muſt be approved of by every man 'in the nation.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we were now to al-'ter that method of addreſſing, which has ob-'tained for ſo many years: Suppoſe we were now 'to return to the ancient method of addreſſing

'his Majeſty in general terms, and without taking 'the leaſt notice of any thing he has been moſt 'graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to us in his 'ſpeech from the throne; yet, even according to 'this method, I do not think, the noble Duke's 'motion can anſwer the purpoſe which every 'Lord, who has ſpoke in this debate, ſeems to 'intend. If we are in our addreſs to make only 'ſome general profeſſions of affection and duty 'to his Majeſty, ſurely thoſe profeſſions ought to 'be as general and as explicit as poſſible; which 'is far from being the caſe with regard to what 'the noble Duke has been pleaſed to propoſe. 'He has propoſed, for us to aſſure his Majeſty, 'that we will ſtand by him with our lives and 'fortunes, in the proſecution of the juſt and ne-'ceſſary war in which he is engaged. Is this, my 'Lords, a general profeſſion of our duty to his 'Majeſty? Is it not a limited profeſſion, confined 'to the proſecution of the preſent war? Are we 'not in duty bound to ſtand by his Majeſty with 'our lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies? 'Why then ſhould we confine it to his enemies 'in the preſent war? This part of the noble 'Duke's motion, I am perſuaded, your Lord-'ſhips will agree, ſtands in need of ſome amend-'ment, before it can be agreed to, even according 'to this favourite plan of addreſſing in general 'terms; and as to the other part of it, I muſt 'think it a ſort of deviation from that very plan 'now ſo warmly contended for.

'My Lords, if we are to keep in ſuch general 'terms, as to ſay nothing of what has been done, 'or is to be done, why ſhould we come to be ſo 'particular as to what we ourſelves are reſolved 'to do? That we are the hereditary great council 'of the crown, has never, I am ſure, of late 'years, been denied, and therefore I can ſee no 'reaſon for our aſſerting that character upon the

'preſent

'preſent occaſion; but if it were, from any late 'tranſaction, become neceſſary for us to aſſert this 'character, I think it would be quite unneceſſary 'and even dangerous to add the words, "To "which all other councils are ſubordinate and "accountable." The other houſe of Parliament 'has always aſſumed the character of being one 'of his Majeſty's councils, and I believe they will 'not admit, that they are either ſubordinate or 'accountable to this houſe; therefore, our adding 'theſe words would be of the moſt dangerous 'conſequence, becauſe it would certainly create a 'breach between the two houſes. We may, if 'it were neceſſary, aſſert our character as heredi-'tary great council of the crown, without adding 'any words that can give offence to the other 'houſe; and I hope we ſhall always exert our-'ſelves in that capacity, as may beſt tend to the 'promoting the true intereſt of our Sovereign 'and country; but why we ſhould begin this 'ſeſſion with declaring, in a particular manner, 'that we will do ſo, I can ſee no reaſon, eſpecial-'ly as his Majeſty has not, in his ſpeech from the 'throne, made uſe of any expreſſion that may 'lead us to the making of ſuch a declaration. 'From ſuch an extraordinary and unſought de-'claration, the world would ſuppoſe, either that 'this houſe had in former ſeſſions been deficient 'in its duty, or that his Majeſty's other councils 'had led him into very deſtructive meaſures. 'The former of theſe ſuppoſitions would, in my 'opinion, be a very undeſerved reflexion upon 'this aſſembly, and the latter would be ſuch a 'reflexion upon his Majeſty's conduct, or if your 'Lordſhips pleaſe, the conduct of his miniſters, 'as I ſhall not be for giving riſe to, without ſome 'previous inquiry into their conduct.

'Thus, my Lords, I hope, I have ſhewn, that 'the firſt motion muſt undergo ſeveral amend-

'ments,

'ments, before it can be agreed to; and as the 'ſecond ſtands in need of no amendment, as it 'contains nothing but what we may agree to, 'and expreſſes every thing we ought to ſay upon 'this occaſion, it will be ſaving your Lordſhips 'a great deal of trouble and time, to ſet aſide the 'firſt motion by the previous queſtion, in order 'to come at the ſecond, which may be agreed to 'without any amendment. For this reaſon, as 'the previous queſtion muſt now be put with re-'gard to the firſt motion, I ſhall give my nega-'tive to it, in order to have an opportunity of 'giving my affirmative to the next queſtion, 'which will of courſe be, To agree to what has 'been propoſed by the noble Lord near me; and 'in both I hope to have the concurrence of the 'majority of this houſe.

'My Lords, I have carefully avoided ſaying 'any thing in juſtification of our late meaſures, 'which does not proceed from my being con-'ſcious, that any of them were wrong, but from 'my being convinced, that their juſtification or 'condemnation has nothing to do in this debate. 'The noble Lord's motion, in favour of which 'I have been arguing, has nothing in it relating 'to any paſt meaſure: It may be agreed to by 'thoſe who condemn, as well as by thoſe who 'approve of our late meaſures; and therefore I 'am ſurprized to find your Lordſhips time taken 'up with long criticiſms upon our late conduct. 'Political meaſures are of ſuch a nature, that the 'worſt may be juſtified, the beſt may be con-'demned: By which I mean, my Lords, that 'ſomething may be ſaid in juſtification of the 'worſt, and ſome ill-natured criticiſms may be 'made upon the beſt publick meaſures that were 'ever purſued; but I muſt be of opinion, that in 'both caſes the preſumption lies againſt thoſe, 'who unſeaſonably bring the ſubject before ſuch

'an aſſembly; and whether or no the preſent 'time be ſeaſonable, I muſt leave to your Lord-'ſhips to judge. The queſtion now before us 'does not, I am ſure, require any ſuch diſcuſſion, 'nor have we before us the materials proper for 'ſuch a purpoſe; and therefore, I think, the 'preſumption at leaſt lies againſt thoſe who have, 'ſome way or other, hook'd into this debate a 'long criticiſm upon our late conduct.'

Upon this the Duke of *Argyle* ſtood up again, and ſpoke to this effect.

'My Lords,

'I riſe up to explain ſome things in the motion 'I took the liberty to make to you, which, I find, 'have been very much miſtaken by the noble 'Lords who have ſpoke againſt it. I believe no 'Lord doubts of my being for our ſtanding by 'his Majeſty with our lives and fortunes, in this 'or any other war he may be neceſſarily ingaged 'in. My Lords, I am for ſtanding by his Ma-'jeſty againſt all his enemies, whether they be '*Spaniards*, or *French*, *Iriſh*, *Scottiſh*, or *Engliſh*; 'nay even againſt thoſe, if there be any ſuch, 'that are in his privy council. Theſe laſt have 'always been found to be the moſt dangerous 'enemies to the Kings of this country; and a-'gainſt them our Sovereign has nothing to de-'pend on, but the wiſdom, the honour, and the 'integrity of this aſſembly. A King may have 'miniſters and privy counſellors, that, for their 'own private ends, adviſe him to purſue ſuch 'meaſures, as may end in his deſtruction. If this 'ſhould ever happen to be the caſe, it is then 'that this houſe has an opportunity of ſhewing 'their duty to their Sovereign, by ſhewing their 'contempt of his miniſters; but if, at ſuch a me-'lancholy conjuncture, there ſhould he a majority

Duke of *Argyle*'s ſpeech.

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'in this houſe ſo blind as not to perceive the 'private views of the miniſter, or ſo corrupted as 'to ſacrifice the intereſt of their King and Coun-'try to the places and penſions, which the mini-'ſter has to beſtow, the Sovereign would then 'have no council bold enough to warn him of his 'danger, nor the country any aſſembly that could 'in a legal way prevent its ruin.

'As to thoſe that are his Majeſty's declared 'enemies, he has none, I think, at preſent, at 'leaſt none worthy the notice of this houſe, but 'the *Spaniards*; and therefore I thought it was 'ſufficient for us to declare, that we will ſtand by 'him in the proſecution of the preſent war againſt 'them, or any that ſhall take their part; for this 'is implied in the general declaration I have pro-'poſed; but as to his Majeſty's ſecret, and the 'worſt of all, his boſom enemies, as we are his 'Majeſty's great hereditary council, it is our duty 'to be always upon the watch againſt them; and 'I thought it was incumbent upon us, in this 'time of foreign danger, to aſſure his Majeſty, 'that we would be mindful of our duty in this 'reſpect, by exerting ourſelves in our high capa-'city of hereditary great council of the Crown, 'in ſuch a manner as might beſt tend to the pro-'moting the true intereſt of his Majeſty, and our 'country. Surely, my Lords, it will not be 'ſuppoſed, that by the words, "To which all "other councils are ſubordinate and accountable," 'I meant to include the houſe of Commons. I 'do not believe any man in the nation will think 'ſo. I meant only to include his Majeſty's privy 'council, his cabinet council, or his council of 'One, if he has any ſuch; and I thought it was 'neceſſary to inſert theſe words, to put the mem-'bers of theſe councils in mind of their being 'ſubordinate and accountable to this aſſembly; 'for it is ſo long ſince we exerted ourſelves in

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'this capacity, it is ſo long ſince we had any of 'theſe gentlemen under our examination, that, I 'am afraid, they begin to forget their ſubordina-'tion: I am afraid they begin to think, that we 'are accountable to them for our behaviour in 'this aſſembly, and that they are accountable to 'none but their Maſter.

'Having thus explained my motion, I hope 'your Lordſhips will think it is no way deficient 'in thoſe declarations of duty and affection, 'which we ought upon this occaſion to make to 'his Majeſty, and that there is no expreſſion in 'it, that can give a reaſonable cauſe of offence to 'any aſſembly, or any man in the nation: And 'now I am up, I muſt obſerve, that the noble 'Lord who ſpoke laſt, ſeems to have very much 'miſtaken what I ſaid about the cuſtom we have 'lately fallen into, of being ſo very particular in 'our addreſs, as to leave nothing untouched that 'has been mentioned in his Majeſty's ſpeech from 'the throne. I ſaid, there are ſeveral perſons in 'the adminiſtration, who muſt remember when 'this cuſtom was firſt introduced: When I ſaid 'ſo, I did not mean the oldeſt among them. 'The cuſtom is far from being co-eval with the 'Revolution: It was not ſo much as introduced 'till many years after, and did not become in 'any ſort an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, till after I had 'the honour of a ſeat in this aſſembly. It may 'perhaps be the effect of what has happened 'ſince the Revolution: It may be the effect of 'the many taxes ſince that time neceſſarily im-'poſed, and the many poſts and places thereby 'created; but it neither was, nor could be the 'effect of any of the good alterations in our con-'ſtitution, that were intended or obtained by the 'Revolution: It was the effect of what I muſt 'call a blind complaiſance for the crown, or ra-'ther for the miniſters of the crown, and an ef-

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'fect that I have always thought ridiculous. I 'have often ſaid, both in jeſt and in earneſt, as 'ſeveral Lords here preſent can teſtify, that it is 'ridiculous in us, without the leaſt previous con-'ſideration or inquiry, to repeat and applaud in 'our addreſs, every thing that a miniſter may, 'for that very purpoſe, contrive to have inſerted 'in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne.

'But this cuſtom, it ſeems, my Lords, ridicu-'lous and abſurd as it is, we muſt not alter, leſt 'we ſhould thereby ſeem, without any proper 'inquiry, to cenſure or diſapprove the conduct 'of the adminiſtration. Does not every one of 'your Lordſhips ſee, that this argument will al-'ways be as good againſt aboliſhing this ridicu-'lous cuſtom, as it is at preſent? But this argu-'ment is not now, nor ever can be of any weight; 'for every man in his right wits muſt ſuppoſe, 'that the alteration in our conduct proceeds from 'our being convinced, that the cuſtom was bad, 'and not from our being convinced, that the 'conduct of the adminiſtration has been wrong; 'and therefore our returning to our ancient me-'thod of addreſſing cannot ſo much as ſeem to 'be a cenſure or diſapprobation of any paſt mea-'ſure. Suppoſing, therefore, we had, from all 'outward appearance, the greateſt reaſon to ap-'plaud and extol our late conduct, yet this could 'be no argument againſt our forſaking ſuch a ri-'diculous cuſtom; but when outward appearances 'operate ſtrongly againſt the late conduct of our 'publick affairs, when our conduct has become 'an object of ſorrow to our friends, and of mirth 'to our enemies, then ſurely it is high time for 'this houſe to forſake a cuſtom, that muſt lead 'them into a ſeeming ſort of approbation of ſuch 'a conduct.

'I am not at all ſurprized to ſee the noble 'Lords, who argue for the continuance of this

'cuſtom,

'cuſtom, avoiding as much as poſſible any ſort
'of diſquiſition into our paſt conduct; but when
'a ſeeming ſort of approbation is deſired, is it
'unſeaſonable for this houſe to enter into that
'diſquiſition? Is it not our duty to inquire, whe-
'ther there is any ſeeming foundation for that
'ſeeming ſort of approbation? And may not that
'inquiry be founded upon outward appearances?
'This, my Lords, is what we are now upon:
'We are examining our late meaſures according
'to outward appearances, and theſe, I am ſure,
'will afford us a very good foundation for a
'ſeeming ſort of cenſure, but not the leaſt foun-
'dation for any thing that may look like an ap-
'probation. Let us examine our late conduct
'either in peace or war, and I am ſure, according
'to all outward appearance, we ſhall find good
'reaſon to condemn it in both. Our tedious and
'perplex'd negotiations, the convention in which
'they were ſumm'd up, nay every ſtep taken to
'prevent a war, was infamous, and tended only
'to make a war unavoidable at laſt. The excuſe
'now made for the continuance of theſe negotia-
'tions, ſhould make Parliaments extremely cau-
'tious of being directed by miniſters in the draw-
'ing up of any of their addreſſes to the crown.
'The addreſſes that were drawn up and preſented
'by Parliament upon the repeated complaints of
'our merchants, were, as every one knows,
'chiefly penn'd by our miniſters, and now theſe
'very addreſſes are made an excuſe for the moſt
'diſhonourable negotiations that ever an uncon-
'quered nation ſubmitted to carry on: I ſay diſ-
'honourable, my Lords, for it was diſhonourable
'as well as pernicious, to treat with a nation, that
'would not ſo much as diſcontinue her depreda-
'tions during the time of the treaty. Whilſt
'there were any hopes of ſucceſs by negotiation,
'whilſt the miniſter could ſay, there were any

'hopes,

'hopes, and every one knows he is pretty good 'at aſſerting, the Parliament was loth to put an 'end to them by condemning them, leſt the mi-'niſter ſhould have ſaid, that he would have pro-'cured ſatisfaction and ſecurity to the nation by 'peaceable means, if the Parliament had not pre-'vented it; but now we may ſpeak freely, and I 'will ſay, it was ridiculous to expect either ſatis-'faction or ſecurity by fair means from the court 'of *Spain*, after their treating us ſo haughtily in 'the negotiation previous to the treaty of *Seville*.

'From all outward appearance, therefore, we 'muſt condemn every ſtep of our late conduct in 'time of peace; and, I am ſure, no man can ſay 'we have as yet any reaſon to approve of our 'conduct in time of war. I do not, my Lords, 'pretend to know a great deal of the theory of 'war, but I have learned ſomething from prac-'tice; and by the beſt judgment I can from 'thence form, I muſt conclude, that no one rea-'ſonable ſtep has been taken for the proſecution 'of the war, either before or ſince we began to 'commit hoſtilities: This is my opinion, and 'this opinion I will venture to ſupport againſt 'the moſt learned in the theory of war. The 'operations of war, my Lords, are not like the 'ſteps of a negotiation: For judging of the for-'mer we have no occaſion for papers, memorials, 'or letters. When a war has been carried on for 'eighteen months, without ſo much as one at-'tempt made for attacking the enemy with vi-'gour and effect, every man may, without diving 'into ſecrets, determine whether this has been 'owing to our own weakneſs or the ſtrength of 'the enemy; and if to the former, whether it 'has been owing to a weakneſs in the nation, or 'to a weakneſs in the counſels of thoſe that con-'duct the affairs of the nation. Mr. *Vernon* has 'demonſtrated, that our inactivity cannot be ow-

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'ing to the ſtrength of the enemy; and will any 'one ſay, that out of 30,000 men we might not 'have ſent four or five thouſand land-forces to the '*Weſt-Indies*, as ſoon as we reſolved upon hoſtili-'ties againſt *Spain*? With regard therefore to our 'conduct in the war, I think we have good rea-'ſons, founded, not upon outward appearances 'but upon certain facts, for teſtifying our diſap-'probation of it, or at leaſt for refuſing to ſay 'any thing in our addreſs, that may look like an 'approbation; and that the addreſs propoſed by 'the noble Lord will imply a ſort of approbation, 'muſt, I think, appear evident to every one who 'conſiders the import of the ſeveral paragraphs.

'To carry on the war, my Lords, in the moſt 'proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and ef-'fectual manner, and not to ſuffer ourſelves to 'be diverted or deterred from thoſe meaſures, is 'certainly a ſign of great wiſdom, and of a ſtrict 'adherence to the true intereſt of theſe kingdoms. 'But will not our acknowledging, in ſuch a par-'ticular manner, the wiſdom of ſuch a reſolution 'upon this occaſion, be an implication, that in our 'opinion the maxim has been purſued? And can 'any man ſay, that the war has as yet been car-'ried on vigorouſly in any place? Can we ſay, 'that our miniſters have not ſuffered themſelves 'to be diverted or deterred, when they them-'ſelves acknowledge, that they have been divert-'ed from ſending proper ſupplies to the *Weſt-In-'dies*, by the ridiculous apprehenſions of our being 'invaded at home? Is not this the very reaſon 'they aſſign for not ſending four or five thouſand 'of our regular veteran troops to the *Weſt-Indies*, 'at the beginning of the war? My Lords, if 'your Lordſhips think fit, I ſhall be, with all my 'heart, for acknowledging the wiſdom of this 'maxim or reſolution, but then, to prevent the 'implication I have mentioned, I ſhall be for con-

'cluding the paragraph with ſaying, that we are 'ſorry this reſolution was not taken and vigo-'rouſly purſued, from the firſt moment we reſol-'ved upon hoſtilities againſt *Spain*.

'As for the next paragraph, my Lords, I muſt 'join with a noble Lord, who has honoured my 'motion with his approbation: I ſay, I muſt join 'with him in thinking, that it looks very much 'like ſwaggering. This nation, my Lords, has 'not, thank God! from its former behaviour, '(at leaſt from its behaviour before our preſent 'excellent miniſter got the reins of government 'ſolely into his hands) the leaſt occaſion to boaſt 'of what it will do. I believe, no court in *Eu-'rope* doubts of the nation's being ready to vin-'dicate its honour againſt whoſoever ſhall dare to 'attempt to preſcribe limits to our arms in ſuch a 'juſt and neceſſary war; but, I believe, every 'court of *Europe* ſuppoſes our miniſters will not; 'therefore, ſuch words as theſe may be natural 'for them, though not at all for the nation. But, 'alas! theſe hectoring words cannot now do them 'any ſervice: They have ſo often already made 'preparations, and fitted out ſquadrons, which 'have afterwards appeared to be nothing but 'bravado, that their threatnings will now ſignify 'nothing. Therefore I am againſt this paragraph; 'firſt, becauſe it is not the natural language of 'the nation; and next, becauſe the world will 'from thence ſuppoſe, that our addreſs has been 'dictated by the miniſter, which can never be 'any honour to this houſe, and leſs at this time, 'than at any former period I can think of.

'The following paragraph, my Lords, is liable 'to the ſame objection with the firſt: It will im-'ply an approbation of our paſt conduct, with 'regard to the balance and liberties of *Europe:* 'The world will from thence ſuppoſe this houſe 'to be of opinion, that our miniſters have ſtrictly

'adher'd

'adher'd to the engagements the nation is under 'for maintaining the balance and liberties of *Europe*, which, I think, is very far from being the 'caſe. I ſhall moſt readily join in ſupporting his 'Majeſty, and enabling him to adhere to the 'engagements he is under, when I know what 'thoſe engagements are, and that they are proper 'for maintaining the balance and liberties of *Europe*; but, I think, we ought not in our addreſs 'to mention engagements, till we know what 'thoſe engagements are; nor can we, I think, 'mention our miniſter's future adhering to the 'engagements the nation is under, for maintaining the balance and liberties of *Europe*, without, 'at the ſame time, complaining, that he has not 'in time paſt adhered ſo ſtrictly to them, as he 'ought to have done. Therefore, if your Lordſhips are for retaining this paragraph, I hope 'you will conclude it with ſuch a complaint as I 'have mentioned, in order to prevent the world's 'being impoſed on by an implication of what I 'cannot ſuppoſe to be your opinion: At leaſt, if 'it is, I am ſure you differ from what is the opinion of the majority of this nation, and of every 'court in *Europe*.

'The laſt paragraph, my Lords, at leaſt the 'latter part of it, I cannot but look on as a little 'mean. It puts me in mind of what is ſaid of 'our enemies the *Spaniards:* In the time of a 'ſtorm, inſtead of running aloft to take care of 'the ſhip, their ſeamen all run below to pray for 'a deliverance. We have now more occaſion for 'acting than wiſhing; and if we do not now begin to act, if we do not now begin to exert 'ourſelves in our high capacity of hereditary great 'council of the crown, I may, without a ſpirit 'of prophecy, foretel, that neither the honour of 'the crown, nor the rights of the people will be 'maintained with vigour or ſucceſs: I do not

'know, but that both may be ſacrificed to that 'puſillanimous miniſterial ſpirit, to which the 'trade and navigation of this kingdom, and the 'balance and liberties of *Europe*, have, in my 'opinion, been ſacrificed for too great a number 'of years.

'Having thus explained the motion I took the 'liberty to make, and ſhewn ſome of my objec-'tions to the other, I muſt conclude with inſiſt-'ing upon my motion. Your Lordſhips may a-'mend it, if you pleaſe: I ſhall readily ſubmit 'any thing I propoſe to the correction of this 'auguſt aſſembly; but I ſtill think it ought to be 'made the ground-work of our preſent addreſs.'

The Lord Chancellor ſtood up next, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.*

'My Lords,

Lord Chancellor's ſpeech.

'Having before given your Lordſhips my opi-'nion, only as to the method of proceeding in 'the caſe now before you, I ſhall now beg leave 'to ſpeak to the merits. As the preſent cuſtom 'of taking particular notice in our addreſs, of 'every thing mentioned to us by his Majeſty in 'his ſpeech from the throne, has always been 'objected to, and has often become the ſubject of 'a debate in this houſe, I have been at ſome pains 'to inquire when it firſt began, and why it was 'introduced. I find, my Lords, that this cuſ-'tom firſt began to be introduced in the reign of 'the late Queen *Anne*, and in the adminiſtration 'of the late Duke of *Marlborough* and Earl of '*Godolphin:* Theſe two will, I believe, be allow-'ed to have been as great men, and as ſucceſsful 'miniſters, as ever this nation was bleſſed with. 'I cannot think your Lordſhips will eaſily ſup-'poſe, that either of them would have given 'countenance to any thing that was inconſiſtent

'with

'with the publick good, or with the honour and 'dignity of this houſe; and the time when this 'cuſtom firſt began to be introduced, may point 'out to us the reaſon why it was introduced. 'At the beginning of the late war, we firſt began 'to return a particular anſwer in our addreſs, to 'every thing that had been mentioned from the 'throne; and the reaſon of our doing ſo was, 'without doubt, to ſhew the powers abroad, as 'ſoon as poſſible, that there was a good harmony 'ſubſiſting between her Majeſty and her Parlia-'ment: That the Parliament approved in general 'of the meaſures purſued by the adminiſtration; 'and that the Parliament would ſupport their 'Sovereign in all the engagements ſhe had enter-'ed, or might enter into, for carrying on the juſt 'and neceſſary war in which ſhe was then en-'gaged.

'This, my Lords, I think, appears evidently 'to have been the reaſon for introducing this 'cuſtom; and was this reaſon ever ſtronger than 'it is at preſent? Was there ever a time, when 'it was more neceſſary for a *Britiſh* Parliament to 'ſtrengthen the hands of their Sovereign, both 'by their actions and declarations? My Lords, 'not only the balance and liberties of *Europe*, 'but our ſucceſs in the preſent war, muſt depend 'upon the weight his Majeſty's counſels may 'have at preſent with the ſeveral courts of *Eu-'rope*; and can any thing add to this weight ſo 'much as a prevailing opinion abroad, that there 'ſubſiſts an intire harmony between his Majeſty 'and his Parliament; that his people place an in-'tire confidence in his wiſdom and conduct; and 'that the whole power of the *Britiſh* nation will 'be applied as he ſhall think fit to direct it? We 'ought, therefore, to take the firſt opportunity 'of demonſtrating to the world, not only our 'affection and duty to his Majeſty, but our reli-

'ance upon him, and our readineſs to ſupport 'him in whatever he may think neceſſary, either 'for the proſecution of the preſent war, or for 'the defence and eſtabliſhment of the balance and 'liberties of *Europe*. For this reaſon, if the ad-'dreſs propoſed by the noble Lord were warrant-'ed by no precedent; if no ſuch cuſtom, as we 'are now deſired to alter, had ever been intro-'duced, I ſhould have been for introducing it 'upon this occaſion, by agreeing to the noble 'Lord's motion.

'But, my Lords, when I conſider, that this 'cuſtom has prevailed, and been generally ob-'ſerved, for near forty years, I am really ſurpri-'zed, an alteration ſhould be attempted at ſuch a 'critical and important juncture. When we are 'engaged in a war of ſuch conſequence to our 'trade and navigation; when the liberties of *Eu-'rope* lie, I may ſay, expiring at the feet of this 'nation, and expecting our helping hand to raiſe 'them up; when moſt of the ſtates in *Europe* 'ſeem to be in a ſort of doubt, whether they ſhall 'bravely ſtand up in defence of their liberties, or 'tamely ſubmit to that power, which they find 'they cannot, without his Majeſty's help, reſiſt; 'ſhall we, by an unneceſſary and ill-timed altera-'tion in our conduct, give them cauſe to expect 'an approaching breach between his Majeſty and 'his Parliament; and that therefore, inſtead of 'aſſiſting them, it will be difficult for him to ſup-'port himſelf? This, my Lords, would be ſuch 'an imprudent, ſuch a fatal miſtake, that I am 'ſurprized to hear it propoſed, and much more 'to find it inſiſted on.

'Having thus, my Lords, ſhewn how danger-'ous it would be to alter our cuſtomary method 'of addreſſing, I ſhall next beg leave to examine 'and compare the two motions now before us. 'The firſt motion, I ſhall allow, is ſtrong, ner-

'vous, and expreſſive, and worthy of the noble 'Duke by whom it was propoſed; but yet I 'muſt be of opinion, that it contains both too 'much and too little. I ſhall grant, that moſt of 'the councils in this nation are ſubordinate and 'accountable to this auguſt aſſembly; but I think 'it is too much to ſay, that all other councils are 'ſubordinate and accountable to this. I ſhall 'likewiſe grant, my Lords, that from ſome of 'our old hiſtories and law books it appears, that 'this houſe has been in former times ſummoned 'to meet by itſelf, in order to give their counſel 'and advice to their Sovereign in affairs of great 'importance, and ſuch as required immediate diſ-'patch; and that when it met upon ſuch occa-'ſions, it is generally in our old books called the 'Great Council; from whence, I ſuppoſe, the 'noble Duke took occaſion to call this aſſembly 'the hereditary great council of the crown: This 'may be a proper appellation; but we ſhould be 'extremely cautious of aſſerting, that all other 'councils are ſubordinate and accountable to this 'aſſembly. We know how jealous the other 'houſe is of its privileges and immunities: From 'thence we may with certainty ſuppoſe, that if 'any ſuch words were inſerted in our addreſs, 'the other houſe would immediately appoint a 'committee to inſpect our journals, and upon the 'report of that committee, would inſiſt upon our 'explaining ourſelves, and declaring, that we did 'not thereby mean to arrogate any power or ju-'riſdiction over them. I believe, your Lordſhips 'would not like to come to any ſuch explanation; 'and if you did not, it might occaſion ſuch a 'breach between the two houſes, as would put a 'full ſtop to all publick buſineſs, which would 'certainly, at this critical conjuncture, be attend-'ed with the moſt fatal conſequences. There-'fore, I hope your Lordſhips will join with me

'in opinion, that the firſt motion contains too 'much; and that it contains too little, is ſtill, I 'think, more evident.

'The noble Duke, indeed, propoſes, that we 'ſhould promiſe to ſupport his Majeſty in the 'preſent war; but is this, my Lords, enough, 'conſidering the preſent circumſtances of *Europe?* 'His motion ſays nothing of the Pragmatick 'Sanction; it ſays nothing of any other war his 'Majeſty may be engaged in, for ſupporting the 'balance and liberties of *Europe.* Is it not poſſi-'ble, is it not probable, that his Majeſty may be 'engaged in another war on this account, more 'general, more burdenſome, and more dangerous 'than the preſent? Such a war I really take to be 'unavoidable, unleſs his Majeſty can form ſuch a 'confederacy upon the continent, as will make it 'dangerous for any power in *Europe* to diſturb 'the tranquillity thereof, by forcibly interpoſing 'in the next election of an Emperor, or by for-'cibly attempting to violate the Pragmatick 'Sanction. And as nothing can contribute more 'towards enabling his Majeſty to form ſuch a 'confederacy upon the continent, than a declara-'tion from the *Britiſh* Parliament, that they will 'enable him to make good all the engagements 'he has, or may enter into for that purpoſe, it 'would be very imprudent in us to neglect this 'opportunity of making ſuch a declaration; from 'whence it is evident, that the firſt motion con-'tains too little.

'On the other hand, my Lords, the ſecond 'motion is, in my opinion, without fault, with-'out any reaſonable objection: It acknowledges 'the wiſdom of thoſe reſolutions, which every 'one of your Lordſhips have applauded, which 'every man muſt in his heart applaud; it gives 'his Majeſty thoſe aſſurances, both with reſpect 'to the preſent war, and any other war his Ma-

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'jeſty may be engaged in, for maintaining the 'balance and liberties of *Europe*, which, I think, 'are abſolutely neceſſary upon the preſent occa- 'ſion: It expreſſes our affection to his Majeſty's 'perſon and government, and our wiſhes for his 'ſucceſs, in as ſtrong, and, I think, as *Laconick* 'terms as can be contrived; and it contains no- 'thing that can give offence, either to the other 'houſe, or to any man in the kingdom. As to 'the late conduct of our miniſters, let it be as bad 'as can be imagined, there is nothing in this mo- 'tion, that can bar an inquiry, or prevent a cen- 'ſure: There is not the leaſt mention made of 'any late meaſure, nor ſo much as a reference to 'any part of our paſt conduct; and as for the 'implications the noble Duke has been pleaſed to 'ſuppoſe, I cannot think there is the leaſt ground 'to apprehend, that any ſuch will be made, either 'abroad or at home. Surely, from our acknow- 'ledging the wiſdom of a reſolution, no man will 'conclude, that we think it has been already pur- 'ſued: On the contrary, it is foreſtalling, if I 'may ſo expreſs myſelf, the judgment of this 'houſe, and previouſly cenſuring the conduct of 'our miniſters, if upon inquiry it ſhould appear, 'that this reſolution was not taken as ſoon, and 'purſued as vigorouſly, as our circumſtances 'would admit.

'The objection made to the next paragraph of 'the noble Lord's motion, muſt appear very ex- 'traordinary, to one who conſiders what has been 'actually done by a neighbouring power. When 'I ſay this, my Lords, every one that hears me, 'muſt ſuppoſe, I mean the *French*: They have 'lately ſent two ſquadrons to the *Weſt-Indies*, 'without any apparent reaſon for ſo doing: No 'man, I believe, ſuppoſes they would have put 'themſelves to this expence for nothing; or that 'it was done merely with a deſign to exerciſe

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'their ſeamen. I ſhall not ſo much as pretend to 'gueſs what was their deſign; but it is highly 'probable, either that they deſigned to join open-'ly with our enemies againſt us, if they found an 'opportunity, by ſo doing, to do us a miſchief, 'or that they intended, by ſending theſe ſqua-'drons thither, to bully and frighten us from 'proſecuting the war properly and vigorouſly in 'that part of the world; and in either caſe, can 'we be ſaid to boaſt or hector, when we aſſure 'his Majeſty, that we will ſtand by and ſupport 'him againſt any power that ſhall attempt to pre-'ſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt 'his and our enemies? Does not ſuch a declara-'tion naturally ariſe from the circumſtance I have 'mentioned? As this circumſtance is known to 'the whole world, would not our neglecting to 'make ſuch a declaration, eſpecially as his Ma-'jeſty has mentioned it in his ſpeech, betray a 'ſort of fear, which might be of the moſt dan-'gerous conſequence in the preſent ſituation, not 'only of this nation, but of *Europe* in general.

'With regard to the engagements this nation 'may be under, for maintaining the balance and 'liberties of *Europe*, I do not know, my Lords, 'that any of them have been of late years neg-'lected; but ſuppoſing they have, it can be no 'objection to what the noble Lord has propoſed 'on that head: We are not thereby to affirm, 'that they have been ſtrictly adhered to, nor can 'any ſuch thing be implied from what he pro-'poſes. We may hereafter inquire into this affair, 'we may cenſure, we may puniſh, notwithſtand-'ing any thing contained in the addreſs he pro-'poſes. If there has been any neglect, our de-'claring, that we will ſtand by and ſupport his 'Majeſty in all ſuch engagements, will prevent 'the like in time to come; and the death of the 'late Emperor renders it neceſſary for us to make

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'ſuch a declaration, as ſoon as poſſible, in order 'to confirm the reſolutions of thoſe, who are 'naturally friends to the liberties of *Europe*, and 'to obviate the deſigns of thoſe, whoſe continual 'aim has, for many years, been to overturn 'them.

'As to the objection made to the laſt para-'graph of the noble Lord's motion, I cannot 'think the noble Duke was ſerious when he made 'it. Our wiſhing can neither prevent nor inter-'rupt our acting: Therefore, your Lordſhips 'may this day wiſh ſucceſs to his Majeſty's enter-'prizes, and to-morrow, or at the ſame time, if 'you pleaſe, you may begin to contribute by 'your actions towards rendering them ſucceſsful. 'In my opinion, the beſt thing you can do, is to 'convince the world, that there is a perfect har-'mony ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and his 'Parliament; that the *Britiſh* nation will concur 'with his Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution, not 'only of the preſent war, but of any other war 'his Majeſty may be neceſſarily engaged in, for 'maintaining the balance and liberties of *Europe*; 'and that we will carefully avoid every thing, 'that may occaſion any diviſion, heat or animo-'ſity amongſt ourſelves: Theſe will, I think, be 'the effects of our agreeing to the ſecond motion; 'and as the contrary will, in my opinion, be the 'effects of our agreeing to the firſt, therefore I 'ſhall be for ſetting it aſide, by means of the 'previous queſtion, in order that we may agree 'to the ſecond motion.'

Upon this the Lord *Carteret* ſtood up again, and ſpoke to the following effect:

'My Lords,

'I beg pardon for troubling your Lordſhips a 'ſecond time upon this occaſion: I now riſe up 'only

Lord *Carteret*'s ſpeech.

'only to explain ſome things I ſaid before, and 'to endeavour to ſet your Lordſhips right, as to 'ſome facts that ſeem to be conteſted, or rather 'miſunderſtood. The cuſtom of returning a par-'ticular anſwer in our addreſs, to every thing 'mentioned in the ſpeech from the throne, I ſhall 'admit, was firſt introduced in the adminiſtration 'of the Duke of *Marlborough* and Earl of *Godol-'phin*; and from this inſtance we may ſee, how 'cautious we ought to be of introducing any 'cuſtom under a good adminiſtration, that ought 'not to be followed under a bad: But this cuſtom 'was not introduced at the very beginning of 'that adminiſtration, or at the beginning of the 'war; and therefore the cauſe of its being intro-'duced may be, and was, I believe, very diffe-'rent from what the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, 'has been pleaſed to repreſent. If ever there was 'occaſion to teſtify a perfect harmony between 'the Sovereign and the Parliament, by a long 'particular addreſs at the beginning of the ſeſſion, 'it was upon the acceſſion of the late Queen, or 'at the beginning of the firſt Parliament after her 'acceſſion; and yet upon both theſe occaſions, 'we find the addreſs of this houſe was very ſhort 'and very general; therefore, it is plain, we muſt 'look for another reaſon for this cuſtom, and if 'we attend to the many glorious victories and 'repeated ſucceſſes this nation was bleſſed with, 'under that wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration, we 'may eaſily find it.

'The true reaſon, my Lords, was, we were 'ſo very much elated with the ſucceſs of our 'arms, and with the trophies which every ſuc-'ceeding campaign added to thoſe of the former, 'that we went a little too far in ſhewing our gra-'titude and complaiſance to that brave general, 'who conducted our armies abroad, and that 'conſummate ſtateſman, who ſeconded his endea-

'vours

‘ vours by a moſt prudent conduct of our affairs
‘ at home. By this means, we introduced the
‘ cuſtom of making every year an expreſs or im-
‘ plied panegyrick upon the conduct of our mini-
‘ ſters, by way of addreſs of thanks for the So-
‘ vereign's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne,
‘ without foreſeeing, that every future adminiſtra-
‘ tion would claim the ſame complaiſance, though
‘ not at all deſerving of the ſame gratitude. That
‘ adminiſtration, my Lords, had ſome reaſon,
‘ from their continual flow of ſucceſs, to expect a
‘ ſort of implicit faith, or blind complaiſance from
‘ Parliament. They deſerved our confidence, be-
‘ cauſe they had the confidence of all our friends
‘ and allies, and were the terror of our enemies.
‘ But where are the victories, where are the tro-
‘ phies our preſent miniſter has to boaſt of? Can
‘ we truſt to the conduct of a miniſter, who, by
‘ his own confeſſion, has ſtript us of every ally?
‘ Can we put confidence in a man, who, by miſ-
‘ conducting our affairs, has rendered us the pity
‘ of our friends, and the contempt of our ene-
‘ mies?

‘ Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that what
‘ was the true reaſon for introducing this cuſtom,
‘ is now very far from being a reaſon for continu-
‘ ing it. I ſhall grant, my Lords, that a perfect
‘ harmony between King and Parliament has al-
‘ ways hitherto given weight to the King's coun-
‘ ſels abroad; but from whence did this proceed?
‘ It proceeded from the Parliament's ſpeaking the
‘ language of the people; for if ever a Parliament,
‘ by corruption or any other means, ſhould begin
‘ to ſpeak the language of miniſters, without re-
‘ gard to the ſentiments of the people, a good
‘ harmony between King and Parliament will then
‘ have no authority at home, and conſequently
‘ can have no more effect abroad, than a good
‘ harmony between the King and his miniſters, I

‘ was

'was going to ſay his footmen; for a miniſter 'that is hated by the people, is in a more precarious ſituation, and muſt be more dependent, 'than any of the King's footmen. Let us then 'conſider what is the language of the people. 'A Parliament may force a change of miniſters; 'but it cannot force a change of ſentiments among the people: All the compliments we can 'make, will never prevail with the people to put 'a confidence in a miniſter they hate and deſpiſe; 'ſuch compliments will only involve us in his 'ignominy, and likewiſe, I muſt think, in his 'guilt. If we conſider this, my Lords, we ſhall 'begin this ſeſſion with an inquiry into the late 'conduct of our publick affairs; and if we have 'a mind to do this, ſurely we ſhould avoid ſaying 'any thing in our addreſs, that may, by any ſort 'of implication, look like an approbation of that 'conduct we may, perhaps, in a week or two, 'find it neceſſary to cenſure. To applaud and 'cenſure in the ſame ſeſſion, would be ſuch an 'inconſiſtency in the behaviour of this houſe, as 'would deſtroy that character, which we muſt 'preſerve among the people, if we have a mind 'to be ſerviceable to our Sovereign, or uſeful to 'our country.

'My Lords, we muſt inquire; the whole 'kingdom expects it at our hands; if we do not, 'there will be ugly inſinuations made againſt the 'dignity and honour of this houſe, both at home 'and abroad. For this very reaſon, we ought to 'agree to the noble Duke's motion, in order to 'ſatisfy the people, as ſoon as poſſible, that in 'this ſeſſion we will do our duty: It is a duty we 'owe to our Sovereign, as well as his people. If 'this propoſition is refuſed, or ſet aſide by the 'previous queſtion, I ſhall look upon it as a refuſal of any inquiry, and therefore I muſt in my 'own vindication proteſt. In the glorious and

'ſucceſsful

'ſucceſsful adminiſtration that has been mention-
'ed, though the miniſters were willing, as all
'miniſters are, to accept of all the panegyricks
'the Parliament was willing to beſtow, yet, being
'conſcious of their own innocence, they were too
'wiſe to oppoſe or endeavour to evade an inquiry.
'There was then no mutual compact between a
'miniſter and his tools, to protect one another
'againſt an impartial Parliamentary inquiry; and
'therefore, in the year 1707, when a complaint
'was brought into this houſe againſt the admiral-
'ty, and an inquiry into the conduct of that
'board moved for, though Prince *George* himſelf
'was then at the head of the admiralty, yet the
'miniſters were ſo far from oppoſing, that they
'promoted an inquiry. A committee was accord-
'ingly appointed, and a ſtrict inquiry carried on,
'whereupon it was found, that the Prince's coun-
'cil had been guilty of great neglects, with re-
'gard to the appointing of cruizers and convoys
'for protecting our trade; for which, and for ſe-
'veral other neglects and miſdemeanours alledged
'againſt them, they were removed from that
'board, without ſo much as an attempt made by
'the miniſters, either to ſcreen them from being
'found guilty, or to protect them after they
'were.

'This, my Lords, was the conduct of thoſe
'two wiſe and great miniſters, the Duke of *Marl-*
'*borough* and Earl of *Godolphin:* They were not
'only wiſe, but they were innocent; for if they
'had not, if they had been concerned with their
'underlings in any dirty jobbs, or if their under-
'lings had been privy to any of their dirty jobbs,
'they muſt have protected them. To a miniſter
'conſcious of his guilt, the very mention of an
'inquiry is frightful: Let it begin where it will,
'he is afraid of its coming to him at laſt; there-
'fore, when there ariſes a general diſcontent in

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'the nation, it is no preſumption in favour of a 'prime miniſter, if he makes uſe of all his au- 'thority in Parliament to prevent an inquiry into 'the cauſes of that diſcontent. Popular diſcon- 'tents can never ariſe without ſome foundation: 'They are often occaſioned by the miſconduct or 'avarice of underlings; but if the chief has real- 'ly no ſhare in the guilt, he will be for a ſtrict 'inquiry, that his own conduct may be juſtified, 'and the blame laid on thoſe that deſerve it.

'We muſt not only inquire into our paſt con- 'duct, my Lords, but we muſt conſider our fu- 'ture conduct, in order to give his Majeſty ſuch 'advice as may be proper at this critical and im- 'portant conjuncture. I have not learned from 'old books, but in this houſe I have learned, 'from as able judges as ever ſat here; from my 'Lord *Hallifax*, my Lord *Somers*, my Lord '*Cowper*, I have learned, that we ſit here in 'three capacities: We ſit here as a legiſlative 'council, as a juriſdictive council, and as the 'great council of ſtate. In this laſt capacity we 'ought to give our advice to our Sovereign upon 'all important occaſions; and for this purpoſe we 'ought to inquire into, and be made acquainted 'with the ſtate of our publick affairs. Our ex- 'erting ourſelves in this capacity will add weight 'to all his Majeſty's meaſures. If other councils 'have brought our conduct into diſrepute, this 'houſe's interpoſing will retrieve our credit. All '*Europe* knows what we ought and can do; if 'we have not done it, the interpoſition of this 'houſe will convince the powers abroad, that we 'ſhall now begin to do what we ought. Where- 'as, if we continue to applaud and put an intire 'confidence in a miniſter, whoſe conduct they 'can put no confidence in, they will expect, on 'our part, the ſame puſillanimous and unſteady 'conduct in time to come, which they have ex-

'perienced

'perienced in time paſt; and this will prevent 'their entering into engagements with his Ma-'jeſty, or giving ear to any thing he may pro-'poſe.

'My Lords, we have in this debate heard a 'great deal of a perfect harmony between the 'King and his Parliament, and the good effects 'it may produce; but if thoſe Lords would ſpeak 'their mind plainly, I believe, they mean a per-'fect harmony between the King's miniſters and 'his Parliament, and this can at preſent, in my 'opinion, produce no good effect, becauſe there 'appears to be no good harmony between them 'and the King's people, nor between them and 'thoſe powers upon the continent, who are the 'King's proper and natural allies. I ſhould be 'glad to know, how our inquiring into, or cen-'ſuring the conduct of a miniſter, can interrupt 'the harmony between the King and his Parlia-'ment: I know it has done ſo in former reigns, 'when the King attempted to ſcreen a guilty mi-'niſter from the juſtice of Parliament; but ſurely 'none of your Lordſhips will ſuppoſe any ſuch 'thing of his preſent Majeſty; therefore our cen-'ſuring, and much leſs our refuſing to approve 'the conduct of any miniſter, can no way inter-'rupt that harmony, which ſubſiſts, and, I hope, 'will always ſubſiſt between his preſent Majeſty 'and his Parliament. On the contrary, it will 'eſtabliſh and confirm that harmony, which now 'ſubſiſts between his Majeſty and his Parliament, 'and it will reſtore that confidence, which we 'ought to preſerve amongſt thoſe who are our 'natural allies; therefore, if there were no other 'reaſon for our altering the method of addreſſing 'we have of late years fallen into, I ſhould be 'for it on this occaſion, in order to convince the 'powers abroad, that this houſe will not be di-'rected or dictated to by a miniſter, whoſe con-

'duct they think they have ſufficient cauſe to 'miſtruſt; and this of itſelf is a moſt prevalent 'reaſon with me for agreeing to the noble Duke's 'motion, becauſe I am well aſſured, it was neither 'directed nor dictated by the miniſter.

'As for the other motion, my Lords, it has ſo 'much of the miniſterial turn in it, that I very 'much ſuſpect ſome miniſter had a hand in draw-'ing it up; and I am very much ſurprized to 'hear the learned Lord that ſpoke laſt, whoſe 'knowledge in the doctrine of innuendo's is not 'to be queſtioned: I ſay, I am ſurprized to hear 'him aver, that it does not ſo much as imply an 'approbation of the miniſter's conduct. We are 'to acknowledge the wiſdom of the miniſter's 'reſolution to proſecute the war in the moſt pro-'per places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectu-'al manner: Innuendo, That he has actually ta-'ken ſuch a reſolution, that he has taken it as 'ſoon as the circumſtances of our affairs would 'permit, and that he will proſecute it with effect. 'We are to acknowledge the wiſdom of his re-'ſolving not to be diverted or deterred from pur-'ſuing thoſe meaſures: Innuendo, That he has 'not hitherto allowed himſelf to be diverted or 'deterred. We are to declare, that we will ſup-'port him in adhering to the engagements he has 'entered into, for maintaining the balance and 'liberties of *Europe*: Innuendo, That he has ne-'ver entered into any engagements, but ſuch as 'were proper for this purpoſe, and that he has 'honourably hitherto adhered to all thoſe engage-'ments. Theſe innuendo's are ſo obvious, that 'I am perſuaded they will be laid hold of by the 'miniſter's friends, at leaſt without doors, for ſi-'lencing all thoſe that complain of his conduct; 'and as I am very far from being convinced of 'the truth of any one of them, I cannot agree 'to an addreſs that will admit of ſuch innuendo's.

'With

'With regard to the *French* ſquadrons ſailing 'to the *Weſt-Indies*, it has, my Lords, been al- 'ready obſerved, that we have no parliamentary 'knowledge of the fact; but if we had, his Ma- 'jeſty has already moſt wiſely taken the proper 'notice of that incident, by ſending a ſquadron 'thither, ſufficient for preventing their being able 'to limit his operations of war; which, I am 'ſure, will have a much greater effect, than any 'words we can make uſe of.

'From all which, my Lords, it is evident, that 'the ſecond motion, as the learned Lord obſerved 'of the firſt, contains too much; and, I think, 'it is as plain, that it contains too little; for it 'ſays nothing of our deſigning to enter upon any 'inquiry, or to give any advice to his Majeſty, 'which is a declaration I think moſt neceſſary to 'be made upon this occaſion, in order to quiet 'the minds of the people, and to regain the con- 'fidence of our friends upon the continent. This 'defect I am not, indeed, much ſurprized at; 'but there is another, which I am ſurprized the 'miniſter, or any friend of the miniſter, ſhould 'have overlook'd. I mean, that of not congra- 'tulating his Majeſty on his ſafe return to his re- 'gal dominions: This is really a defect in good 'manners, as well as in the regard we ought to 'ſhew to our Sovereign; and it is the more enor- 'mous, conſidering the good effects the whole 'nation felt from his ſafe return. During his ab- 'ſence, our warlike operations ſeemed to be at a 'ſtand, or rather we ſeemed to be in ſuſpence, 'whether we ſhould proſecute the war or no; 'but immediately after his return, that fleet which 'had lain ſo long upon our coaſt, at a great ex- 'pence to the nation, ſometimes for want of a 'fair wind, ſometimes for want of proper provi- 'ſions, and ſometimes for want of ſailing orders, 'proceeded upon its intended voyage to the *Weſt-*

'*Indies*; where, I am convinced, it will be made 'a proper uſe of by the admiral we have there, 'if he be laid under no check, that may limit or 'diſappoint his honeſt and brave intentions.'

The next that ſpoke in this debate was the Lord *Harvey*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

'My Lords,

Lord *Harvey's* ſpeech. 'As I cannot propoſe to ſay much more, or 'better than what has been ſaid by other Lords, 'who have ſpoke before me in this debate, I ſhall 'trouble your Lordſhips with only a few obſer-'vations upon the two motions. Among others, 'there is this difference between the two, that 'the firſt is found fault with, and ſeveral amend-'ments offered to it, even by thoſe Lords who 'have ſpoke in its favour; whereas no objection 'has been made to the ſecond by any one Lord, 'who has ſpoke in its favour; therefore, I think 'your Lordſhips, in order to ſave time, had bet-'ter chuſe the ſecond motion, which may be a-'greed to without amendment, than to chuſe the 'firſt, which, it is confeſſed by both ſides, cannot 'be agreed to without ſeveral amendments. As 'to the objection made to the ſecond motion, 'that it implies an approbation of the conduct of 'the miniſters, I do not think there is the leaſt 'foundation for it; and this, I think, every one 'of your Lordſhips may convince himſelf of, 'by ſuppoſing the houſe entered into an inquiry, 'and conſidering whether he would think himſelf 'tied up from cenſuring our late conduct, by any 'words contained in the addreſs propoſed by the 'ſecond motion. For my own part, I am ſure I 'ſhould not, and therefore I ſhall firſt be for a-'greeing to this motion, and then, if your Lord-'ſhips pleaſe, I ſhall be for entering upon an in-

'quiry

'quiry into any part of our late conduct, and 'ſhall think myſelf as free to cenſure, if I think 'it ought to be cenſured, as any Lord that has 'oppoſed this motion.

'The ſecond motion therefore, my Lords, if 'we chuſe it, can give us no trouble, nor take 'up much of our time; whereas, if we chuſe the 'firſt, if we do not ſet it aſide by the previous 'queſtion, before we can agree to it, we muſt ſet 'about amending it: About theſe amendments 'we may have new debates, which will take up 'a great deal of time, and muſt of courſe give us 'a great deal of trouble; for ſurely your Lord-'ſhips would not agree to the firſt motion, till 'after you had ſome way altered the words, "To "which all other councils are ſubordinate and ac-"countable;" becauſe theſe words would, in my 'opinion, neceſſarily breed a quarrel between the 'two houſes. I am very well convinced, the 'noble Duke did not mean to include the other 'houſe under theſe general words; but, my 'Lords, we muſt not conſider what his meaning 'was, or what ſenſe we think ought to be put 'upon them; we muſt conſider what the other 'houſe will think of them; and their jealouſy 'will, I am perſuaded, ſuggeſt to them, that we 'meant by theſe words, to lay a precedent for 'eſtabliſhing ſome ſort of juriſdiction over their 'aſſembly; therefore your Lordſhips muſt expect, 'they will not patiently bear with your making 'uſe of ſuch a general expreſſion.

'But this is not the only amendment we muſt 'make to the firſt motion. Thoſe who have 'ſpoke in its favour have allowed, that it is de-'fective, with regard to the preſent circumſtances 'of *Europe*, and the war his Majeſty may poſſibly 'be ingaged in on that account; therefore we 'muſt here likewiſe make ſome amendment; and 'perhaps others may occur, when we come to

'conſider it more narrowly. In ſhort, my Lords, 'I am quite indifferent, which of the motions 'you agree to, provided the firſt, if you chuſe 'it, be properly amended before you agree to it; 'but as our chuſing the ſecond will ſave a great 'deal of trouble and time, therefore I ſhall be for 'ſetting the firſt aſide, by means of the previous 'queſtion, in order to come at the ſecond.'

The Lord *Bathurſt* then ſtood up again, and ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

Lord *Bathurſt*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, has obſerved 'a difference between the two motions, which, 'in my opinion, is rather a difference between 'the ſpeakers of one ſide, and the ſpeakers of the 'other, than a difference between the motions 'themſelves. I ſhall grant, that thoſe who have 'ſpoke for, or ſeem to favour the ſecond motion, 'are more unanimous, as they generally are, a-'mongſt themſelves, than thoſe who have ſpoke 'for, or ſeem to favour the firſt; but this is no 'argument for the ſecond motion's being better, 'or more correct than the firſt; becauſe thoſe 'that are in the wrong may be, and often are, 'more unanimous than thoſe that are in the right. 'The ſecond motion, therefore, can claim no 'preference from the unanimity of its advocates; 'but I will obſerve to your Lordſhips a real dif-'ference between the two motions, and a diffe-'rence, which demonſtrably gives the preference 'to the firſt.

'The difference, my Lords, is this: The ſe-'cond motion is ſo bad, that objections have been 'made to every paragraph of it, except the firſt, 'which thanks his Majeſty for his ſpeech from 'throne; whereas the firſt motion has in the 'main been applauded, even by thoſe who have

'ſpoke

'ſpoke againſt it; and no objection made, but 'only to a few ugly words in one place, and the 'want of a few pretty words in another; there-'fore it is evident, the firſt motion is in the main 'better than the ſecond. Now, if I add the 'pretty words deſired, and leave out the ugly 'words objected to, I am perſuaded the noble 'Duke will agree to what I propoſe, and then I 'hope we ſhall unanimouſly agree to his motion; 'which unanimity will be an advantage, as has 'been acknowledged, and ſeems to be deſired, 'by thoſe who have ſpoke upon the other ſide of 'the queſtion.

'I ſhall therefore, my Lords, propoſe to add, 'at the end of the ſecond paragraph of the noble 'Duke's motion, theſe words, "Or in any other "war in which he may be neceſſarily ingaged, "for maintaining the balance and liberties of *Eu-*"*rope*, on the event of the late Emperor's death." 'This will obviate the objection of the motion's 'containing too little; and as to the objection of 'its containing too much, the only words found 'fault with are theſe, "To which all other coun-"cils are ſubordinate and accountable;" which 'words, as they ſtand in a parentheſis, I propoſe, 'ſhall be intirely left out. Thus, my Lords, I 'think, I have obviated every objection that has 'been made to this motion; and therefore, unleſs 'your Lordſhips have ſomething elſe in view, 'than merely to acknowledge your loyalty and 'fidelity to his Majeſty, I hope you will unani-'mouſly agree to this motion thus amended.

'By this your Lordſhips will ſave a great deal 'of trouble and time; for if you ſhould ſet aſide 'this motion by means of the previous queſtion, 'you cannot ſuppoſe, that the ſecond motion, 'after ſo many and ſuch ſtrong objections have 'been made to it, will be agreed to without ſome 'amendment's being offered, which will of courſe

'introduce a new debate. Nay, I do not think, 'that thoſe who are its greateſt advocates, can 'agree to it, without inſerting ſome words for 'congratulating his Majeſty upon his ſafe return 'to his regal dominions.'

The next and the laſt that ſpoke in this debate, was the Lord *Gower*, whoſe ſpeech was to this effect:

'My Lords,

Lord *Gower*'s ſpeech.

'As I have carefully attended to this debate, 'and in particular to the objections that have been 'made to the noble Duke's motion, I think, as 'it is now amended, the objections are all remo-'ved; and therefore, if your Lordſhips do not 'now agree to it, I ſhall think you have ſome 'ſecret reaſon, which has not been yet expreſſed, 'and from hence I ſhall ſuſpect, that ſome of 'your Lordſhips not only look upon the addreſs 'propoſed by the noble Lord, as an approbation 'of the miniſter's conduct, but that you intend 'it as ſuch, and as a bar to any future inquiry or 'cenſure; and indeed, as all ſpeeches from the 'throne are ſuppoſed, in this houſe, to be the 'ſpeech of the miniſter, and as, conſequently, 'our addreſs by way of anſwer to that ſpeech, 'muſt be conſidered as an anſwer to the miniſter, 'I muſt think, it would not ſhew a thorough 'conſiſtency in our behaviour, to cenſure or pu-'niſh a miniſter, after having returned him ſuch 'a pretty, ſmooth anſwer in the beginning of the 'ſeſſion. The noble Duke's motion looks ſome-'thing like what the miniſter may expect, and I 'am ſure, what we ought to make him expect 'from this aſſembly; therefore, if that motion 'be thrown out by a majority, I ſhall expect, 'and the whole nation with me will expect, that 'the ſame majority will throw out every thing

'that

'that can be offered towards an inquiry; and 'how dangerous this may be, at this juncture, I 'ſhall leave to your Lordſhips to judge; for a 'good harmony between the King and Parliament 'will ſignify but little, if it be known abroad, as 'it will be, that the people are generally diſcon-'tented, that the Parliament ſpeaks nothing but 'the language of the miniſter, and that their 'ſpeaking ſuch language has raiſed the diſcontents 'of the people almoſt to madneſs.

'My Lords, I attended with the more care to 'the objections made to the noble Duke's motion, 'becauſe, when I firſt heard it, I was ſo well 'pleaſed with it, that I thought no exception 'could be reaſonably taken to any part of it; 'and I muſt ſay, I am ſtill of the ſame opinion. 'However, for the ſake of unanimity, I approve 'of the amendments my noble friend has propo-'ſed; but I was ſurprized to hear it ſo much as 'ſuppoſed, that the other houſe would find fault 'with our ſaying, "That all other councils are "ſubordinate and accountable to this;" or that 'they would imagine themſelves included in 'theſe general words. I never heard of the other 'houſe's being called a council, either in our old 'books or our new, or by any man in the king-'dom that underſtood what he ſaid. The other 'houſe is one of the branches of our legiſlature: 'they are the great inqueſt of the nation; and as 'ſuch, they are accountable to none; but I never 'heard, that they were called, or that they called 'themſelves a council; and therefore, ſhould we 'make uſe of this expreſſion, I am convinced the 'other houſe would take no notice of it; unleſs 'we ſuppoſe them under the direction of a mini-'ſter, and in that caſe, indeed, if he perceived 'this houſe inclined to make a ſtrict and impartial 'inquiry into his conduct, he might, and probably 'would, prevail with the other houſe to lay hold

'of

'of any handle for putting a ſtop to that inquiry; 'but as even this danger is removed, by leaving 'out the words objected to, and as the defect 'complained of is removed by the words my noble friend has added, I can now ſee no reaſon 'for our not agreeing with the noble Duke's motion, unleſs it be, becauſe we are very ſure it 'was not dictated by the miniſter, which with 'me is a ſtrong reaſon for approving it.'

The previous queſtion being at laſt put, with regard to the Duke of *Argyle*'s motion, it paſſed in the negative, upon a diviſion, by 66 Not Contents to 38 Contents: Whereupon the following proteſt was entered upon the journals, *viz.*

Diſſentient'

Macclesfield.

Proteſt upon this occaſion.

BECAUSE we conceive, that a motion of this nature ought not to have been laid aſide by the previous queſtion; but we apprehend it would have been more conſiſtent with the honour and dignity of this houſe to have paſſed it in the affirmative, ſince it contained the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of our duty to his Majeſty, and of our zeal to ſupport him with our lives and fortunes in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war; moreover, it had been univerſally allowed in the debate, that the antient uſage of this houſe was to return immediately a general addreſs of thanks only for the ſpeech from the throne, and to appoint a future day for taking the ſaid ſpeech into conſideration: By which wiſe method of proceeding, this houſe had an opportunity of forming their judgment and offering their advice to the crown, upon the ſeveral matters contained in the ſpeech after due enquiry and mature deliberation.

2. Becauſe, though the ſpeech from the throne is in Parliament juſtly conſidered as the act of his miniſters,

miniſters, yet a motion pre-concerted, if not drawn by themſelves, echoing back the particulars of the ſpeech, is, as we conceive, a modern expedient to procure a precipitate approbation of meaſures which might not be approved upon better conſideration. It was indeed alledged in the debate, in ſupport of this practice, that it was introduced during the late war, in the adminiſtration of the late Earl of *Godolphin*; but we ſhould alſo conſider the reaſon of it, (we heartily wiſh we had now the ſame) that the zeal of the houſe was then every year animated by the glorious ſucceſſes of the Queen's arms under the command of the Duke of *Marlborough*; and though it is always admitted that theſe haſty addreſſes do not preclude the houſe from future enquiries or cenſures; yet ſhould cenſures, in conſequence of ſuch enquiries, become neceſſary, they would produce an inconſiſtency between the firſt addreſs and the ſubſequent reſolutions, and argue a levity highly unbecoming the wiſdom and dignity of this houſe.

3. Becauſe one part of this motion, the congratulation upon his Majeſty's ſafe return to his regal dominions could be liable to no objection, but ſeemed at this time peculiarly ſeaſonable, ſince it was evident to the whole kingdom, the ſailing of the fleet, which had been delayed ſo long, was the immediate effect of his happy return.

4. Becauſe we conceive, that our aſſuring his Majeſty that we would exert ourſelves in our high capacity of hereditary great council of the crown, would have given encouragement to his allies, confidence to his armies, and ſatisfaction to his ſubjects, eſpecially in this critical conjuncture, wherein the advice of this houſe is more than ever neceſſary, ſince by the inaction of this laſt year in all parts (except wherein Admiral *Vernon* commanded) notwithſtanding the vaſt fleets and armies maintained at ſo immenſe a charge, this juſt and

neceſſary war ſeems hitherto to have been carried on by the ſame ſpirit and advice which ſo long delay'd the entering into it; and we conceive that the ſtricteſt enquiries into ſuch conduct are the moſt probable means of redreſſing our grievances at home, and bringing the war abroad to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion.

Buccleugh,
Stanhope,
Halliſax,
Cheſterfield,
Bridgwater,
Winchelſea and *Nottingham*,
Beaufort,
Litchfield,
Talbot,
Willoughby de Brook,
Greenwich,
Carteret,
Shaftſbury,
Clifton,
Haverſham,
Carliſle,
Denbigh,
Bathurſt,
Craven,
Thanet,
Gower,
Aylesford.

By this negative, his Grace's motion being ſet aſide, the queſtion was of courſe propoſed, to agree to the motion made by Lord *Haverſham*; whereupon the Earl of *Abingdon* ſtood up, and moved by way of amendment, to inſert in that motion, immediately before the laſt paragraph, theſe words, *viz.* 'And as a further proof of 'our duty and affection to his Majeſty's ſacred 'Perſon, Royal Family, and government, to aſ-'ſure him, that we will exert ourſelves in our 'high capacity of hereditary great council of the 'crown, in ſuch a manner as may beſt tend to 'the promoting the true intereſt of his Majeſty 'and our country, in this critical juncture.'

Upon this amendment the queſtion was put, without any farther debate, which being carried in the negative by 62 Not Contents; to 35 Contents, it occaſioned the following proteſt, *viz.*

Diſſentient'

BECAUSE when theſe words made part of the queſtion firſt moved, they were allowed by every

every Lord, who ſpoke in the debate, to be proper and unexceptionable, and the following parentheſis only (To which all other councils are ſubordinate and accountable) was objected to, as liable to a miſconſtruction in another houſe; we cannot therefore but be ſurprized, that when this queſtion, freed from that ſhadow of an objection, (as we conceive,) was offered as an amendment to the motion for an addreſs, it ſhould have been rejected; and the more ſo, ſince the negative paſſed upon it may be conſtrued to imply, what we are perſuaded no Lord in this houſe can intend, (whatever others may wiſh) a reſolution not to enquire, adviſe, or cenſure, even though juſt ſuſpicions, imprudent councils, or criminal meaſures ſhould require it.

Subſcribed, *&c.* as before.

The queſtion was at laſt put upon the ſecond motion, and agreed to without a diviſion.

In purſuance of this motion, an addreſs was immediately drawn up, and agreed to, which was as follows, *viz.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Lords addreſs.

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal 'ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Tem-'poral in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to re-'turn your Majeſty our humble thanks for 'your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

'The reſolutions which your Majeſty is pleaſed 'to expreſs, for carrying on this juſt and neceſ-'ſary war, in the moſt proper places, and in the 'moſt vigorous and effectual manner, is ſo agree-'able to your Royal wiſdom, as well as to the 'united deſires of your people, that it fills our 'hearts with the moſt grateful ſentiments. As 'the *Weſt-Indies* has been the ſcene of the moſt 'outrageous depredations and violences, commit-

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'ted by the *Spaniards* upon your Majeſty's ſub-
'jects; we hope and truſt, that by the bleſſing
'of God on your Majeſty's councils and arms,
'this nation will, in thoſe parts more eſpecially,
'obtain that juſt ſatisfaction for paſt injuries, and
'effectual ſecurity for their navigation and com-
'merce for the future, which have hitherto been
'refuſed, contrary to the faith of the moſt ſo-
'lemn treaties.

'We muſt ever acknowledge it, amongſt the
'many inſtances of your Majeſty's firmneſs, and
'true greatneſs of mind, that you have not ſuf-
'fered any incidents whatſoever, to divert or de-
'ter you from theſe meaſures: And we doubt
'not but your enemies will ſoon be convinced,
'that the ſecurity of your Majeſty's government
'at home, muſt be ſtrengthened in the affections
'and ſupport of your people; whilſt your ſqua-
'drons are ſent to diſtant parts of the world, as
'well for maintaining their undoubted rights
'and intereſts, as the honour of your Imperial
'crown.

'Under this deep ſenſe of our obligations to
'your Majeſty, permit us to offer at your royal
'feet the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that if any other
'power ſhould attempt to preſcribe or limit the
'operations of the war againſt your declared ene-
'mies; ſuch an extraordinary proceeding would
'not fail to create in us the higheſt and moſt be-
'coming indignation, and to determine us to
'concur in all proper meaſures, for vindicating
'and defending your Majeſty's dignity and ho-
'nour againſt any inſults, and for fruſtrating any
'deſigns formed againſt us.

'We are truly ſenſible, that the death of the
'late Emperor is an event, which calls for the
'vigilant attention of all thoſe who ſincerely wiſh
'well to the common ſafety and tranquillity; and
'we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we

'will

'will zealouſly ſtand by and ſupport you, in adhering to the engagements you are under, for maintaining the balance and liberties of *Europe* on that important occaſion, as well as in the vigorous proſecution of the preſent war.

'To repeat the unfeigned profeſſions, that we have ſo often made, of our unalterable fidelity and affection to your Majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and our zeal for the continuance of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in your Royal Houſe, may ſeem unneceſſary, when it is demonſtrably our eſſential intereſt, as well as our duty, to perſevere in theſe principles. But we ſhould be wanting to thoſe warm impreſſions, which we feel in ourſelves, if we did not, in this conjuncture, declare to your Majeſty, and the whole world, the fixed and unſhaken purpoſe of our hearts, to defend and ſupport this glorious cauſe, at the expence of our blood and treaſure; and, at the ſame time, expreſs our ſincere and ardent wiſhes, that all your enterprizes, for maintaining the honour of your Majeſty's crown, and the rights of your people, may be bleſſed with the moſt proſperous ſucceſs.'

Which addreſs being next day preſented, his Majeſty returned the following moſt gracious anſwer, *viz.*

My Lords,

His Majeſty's anſwer.

I Thank you for this moſt dutiful and affectionate addreſs. Nothing can be more agreeable to me, than the zeal you expreſs for the vigorous proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war, the ſupport of my dignity and honour, and the preſervation of the balance and liberties of Europe; *all which I have entirely at heart.*

In

In the houſe of Commons, the motion for an addreſs, by way of anſwer to his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, was agreed to without any diviſion, or remarkable debate, and the addreſs drawn up and preſented, in purſuance thereof, was as follows, *viz.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

Commons addreſs.

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal 'ſubjects, the Commons of *Great Bri-* 'tain in Parliament aſſembled, humbly beg leave 'to congratulate your Majeſty on your ſafe and 'happy return to theſe your regal dominions, 'and to return our ſincere thanks for your Ma- 'jeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

'Your faithful Commons, with hearts full of 'duty and gratitude, cannot but acknowledge 'your Majeſty's great regard for the honour and 'intereſt of theſe kingdoms, in equipping ſuch 'ſtrong ſquadrons of men of war, and embark- 'ing a body of land forces, to be joined and 'ſtrengthened by a conſiderable number of your 'Majeſty's ſubjects raiſed in *America*, in order to 'carry on the war in thoſe parts in the moſt vi- 'gorous and effectual manner.

'We, at the ſame time, beg leave to expreſs 'our moſt dutiful ſenſe of your Majeſty's firmneſs 'and reſolution, in not ſuffering yourſelf to be 'diverted or deterred by any incidents, from 'purſuing the juſt and vigorous meaſures in 'which your Majeſty is engaged for maintaining 'the honour of the crown, and the undoubted 'rights of your people; and we aſſure your Ma- 'jeſty, that this houſe will ſtand by and ſupport 'your Majeſty againſt all attempts made in viola- 'tion of the faith of treaties, or tending to pre- 'ſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt 'your Majeſty's declared enemies.

'Your dutiful and loyal Commons will, with 'the utmoſt chearfulneſs, grant your Majeſty 'ſuch effectual ſupplies as ſhall be neceſſary, not 'only for carrying on the preſent war with vi- 'gour, but alſo to put your Majeſty in a condi- 'tion of being prepared for ſuch events as may 'ariſe from the new and uncertain ſtate of affairs 'in *Europe*.

'Your Majeſty's tenderneſs and concern for 'the eaſe and welfare of your ſubjects, in recom- 'mending to the conſideration of Parliament the 'great diſtreſs, that may ariſe, from the ſcarcity 'of corn, calls upon us, in the ſtrongeſt manner, 'to loſe no time in taking the moſt proper and 'effectual methods of avoiding thoſe great and 'dangerous miſchiefs, which ſo apparently threaten 'us, and of not ſuffering our enemies to be ſup- 'plied with any kind of proviſions from any of 'your Majeſty's dominions.

'We will alſo take ſuch meaſures, as ſhall be 'thought moſt reaſonable and practicable, to en- 'able your Majeſty effectually to man your royal 'fleets, for the defence of the kingdom, for the 'ſecurity of the trade and navigation of your 'Majeſty's ſubjects, and for carrying on the war 'with vigour.'

To which his Majeſty returned the following moſt gracious anſwer, *viz.*

His Majeſty's anſwer.

I Return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal addreſs, and for the aſſurances you have given me of ſupporting me in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war; and you may depend upon it, that the ſupplies you ſhall grant me, ſhall be employed in the moſt effectual manner, to vindicate and ſupport the honour and intereſt of my crown and kingdoms.

Motion in the houſe of Lords for removing Sir *Robert Walpole*.

The following affair being of great importance, and having made a great noiſe in the nation, we ſhall give an account of it, before we give an account of any of the other debates that happened in this ſeſſion. On *Friday* the 13th of *February*, a motion was made in the houſe of Lords, by the Lord *Carteret*, To reſolve, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, moſt humbly to adviſe and beſeech his Majeſty, that he will be moſt graciouſly pleaſed to remove the right honourable Sir *Robert Walpole*, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, firſt commiſſioner of his Majeſty's treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, from his Majeſty's preſence and councils for ever. His Lordſhip introduced this motion with a ſpeech to the following effect:

Lord *Carteret*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'I have a motion to make to your Lordſhips, 'which, as a friend to our preſent happy eſta- 'bliſhment, as a friend to his moſt gracious Ma- 'jeſty now upon the throne, as a friend to my 'country, and as a member of this houſe, I think 'I am in duty bound to make; but as it is a mo- 'tion of an extraordinary, though not an unpre- 'cedented nature, I muſt firſt beg leave to ſhew 'you my reaſons for making it, and I hope to 'ſhew ſuch reaſons as will induce every Lord of 'this houſe to think, that it is now abſolutely 'neceſſary to comply with it.

'My Lords, it is the duty of Parliament, and 'eſpecially of this houſe, to give our Sovereign 'our moſt ſincere advice, not only when it is 'aſk'd, but often when it is not deſired by the 'crown. As members of this houſe, we are in 'duty bound to have a watchful eye over the 'publick meaſures his Majeſty is adviſed to pur- 'ſue, and over the chief miniſters he is pleaſed to

'employ

'employ in the adminiſtration of publick affairs; 'and when we are of opinion, that the meaſures 'he is adviſed to purſue are wrong, or that the 'miniſters he is pleaſed to employ are weak or 'wicked, it is our duty and our buſineſs, while 'we ſit here, to warn our Sovereign of his dan-'ger, and to remove weak or wicked counſellors 'from about his throne. As to the parliamentary 'methods of removing a miniſter, I need not ac-'quaint your Lordſhips that they are of ſeveral 'kinds, and that all but one tend to puniſh as 'well as remove. When we proceed by im-'peachment, by bill of attainder, or by bill of 'pains and penalties, the deſign is to puniſh as 'well as remove; but there is another way of 'proceeding in Parliament, which tends only to 'remove the miniſter from the King's councils, 'without inflicting any real puniſhment upon 'him, and that is, by an humble addreſs to our 'Sovereign, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed 'to remove ſuch a one from his councils.

'I believe, my Lords, it will not be queſtion-'ed, that either houſe of Parliament may offer 'ſuch advice to the crown by way of humble 'addreſs; I believe it will not be ſaid, that it is 'unuſual or unprecedented; and therefore, I ſhall 'not trouble your Lordſhips, with calling to your 'remembrance, any of the precedents that may 'be found in the journals of Parliament. I ſhall 'only take notice of the difference between the 'methods of proceeding by impeachment, by bill 'of attainder, or bill of pains and penalties, and 'this method of proceeding by way of humble 'addreſs to the crown. When we proceed by 'impeachment, by bill of attainder, or by bill of 'pains and penalties, ſome particular criminal facts 'muſt be alledged, and there muſt be ſome ſort 'of proof of thoſe facts; but when we proceed 'by way of addreſs to the King, that he would

'be graciouſly pleaſed to remove ſuch a miniſter 'from his councils, a general view of that mini- 'ſter's conduct, a general view of publick affairs, 'may afford juſt cauſe for ſuch an addreſs, and 'common fame is a ſufficient proof; for when no 'particular fact is inſiſted on, it is impoſſible to 'bring any particular proof. This, my Lords, 'is the difference, and the reaſon of this diffe- 'rence is very plain. When a man is to be pu- 'niſhed either in his perſon, his freedom, or 'eſtate, ſome crime or criminal neglect ought to 'be not only alledged, but proved by a legal 'proof, or by ſtrong preſumptions; but as his 'not being employed in the King's councils nei- 'ther affects his perſon, his freedom, nor his 'eſtate, therefore weakneſs alone, or a general 'bad character, may be a good cauſe for remo- 'ving him. A weak man is certainly in any 'country very unfit for being in the King's coun- 'cils; and in a popular government, a man who 'has incurred the general odium of the people, 'ought not to be continued in the King's coun- 'cils, becauſe the unpopularity of the miniſter 'may at laſt affect the throne itſelf, and render 'the people diſaffected to their Sovereign.

'I muſt therefore deſire your Lordſhips to 'take particular care to diſtinguiſh between the 'method of proceeding againſt a miniſter by im- 'peachment, by bill of attainder, or bill of pains 'and penalties, and the method of proceeding a- 'gainſt a miniſter by addreſs only; becauſe if 'you do not take care to fix this diſtinction in 'your minds, you may expect from me what I 'do not intend to give, and what the nature of 'the motion I am to make, renders it not only 'unneceſſary, but unfit for me to give. I am to 'move only for an humble addreſs to his Ma- 'jeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to re- 'move a miniſter, I may ſay, The miniſter, from

'his

'his councils; and therefore, it is both unneceſſa-
'ry and unfit for me to charge that miniſter with
'any particular crime, or to acquaint your Lord-
'ſhips that I have, and am ready to produce
'particular proofs againſt him. If this were my
'intention, I ſhould think it below my dignity,
'as a member of this houſe, to content myſelf
'with moving for an humble addreſs; I ſhould
'think it incumbent upon me directly to impeach,
'let the conſequence be what it would. There-
'fore your Lordſhips are not to expect that I am
'to accuſe any miniſter of a particular crime, or
'that I am to tell you that I am ready to bring
'proofs of what I alledge againſt him. If I can
'ſhew that the affairs of *Europe* have been
'brought into the unlucky ſituation in which
'they are at preſent, by the conduct of this na-
'tion; or if I can ſhew that the diſtreſſed condi-
'tion in which our people now are, is wholly
'owing to our own conduct; either of theſe will
'be an argument that muſt, that ought at leaſt,
'to prevail with every Lord who is convinced,
'that this miniſter has been the principal, if not
'the ſole adviſer of that conduct. If the people
'be generally diſſatisfied with the late conduct of
'our publick affairs, and if that general diſſatis-
'faction be wholly directed againſt any one man
'in the adminiſtration, as our government is ſtill,
'I hope, a popular government, it is a ſufficient
'cauſe for this houſe to let his Majeſty know the
'character of his miniſter, by an addreſs to re-
'move him from his councils. If there be any
'one of his Majeſty's miniſters that has uſurped,
'or that even is generally thought to have uſurp-
'ed the ſole power of directing all publick affairs,
'and recommending to all publick poſts, honours
'and employments, it is our duty, at leaſt, to
'addreſs his Majeſty to remove ſuch a miniſter,

'because such a one is inconsistent with the con-
'stitution of our government.

'Upon this question, my Lords, it signifies
'nothing whether the general character the mini-
'ster has gained, or the misconduct he has been
'guilty of, has been owing to his weakness, or
'his wickedness; for either is a sufficient cause
'for having him removed. But I must observe,
'that till he is removed, it cannot be made mani-
'fest by proper proofs, whether his misconduct,
'or his general bad character, be owing to his
'weakness or wickedness; for artful ministers al-
'ways act by tools and under agents, who, whilst
'their patron is in power, will never reveal the
'flagitious secrets committed by him to their
'charge; but as such men are seldom faithful any
'longer than it is their interest to be so, remove
'the minister once from the King's councils, put
'it out of his power to reward the wicked fidelity
'of his associates and tools, and the secret history
'of his dirty jobbs will then begin to unfold it-
'self, and may be made manifest by a legal proof.
'Suppose the King should be advised by a fa-
'vourite minister to keep up a constant friendship
'and alliance with the greatest rivals and most
'inveterate enemies of his country, and that he
'should for this purpose sacrifice the interest, and
'forfeit the friendship of its most natural allies:
'Whilst the minister is in power, this may seem
'to proceed from his weakness, or from his ig-
'norance of the true interest of his country; but
'remove him from the person and councils of his
'Sovereign, and then it may appear to have pro-
'ceeded from his wickedness: It may appear that
'he was corrupted by the enemies of his country,
'or that he knowingly and wickedly sacrificed
'the interest of his country to some private view
'of his own: If he employed any one in trans-
'acting or receiving the bribe, if he ever was so
'free

'free in converſation with his friends as to unfold 'the motives for his miſconduct, or the reaſons 'why he gave ſuch wicked advice to his Sove-'reign, ſome of them, either for conſcience or 'intereſt, may be induced to diſcover the ſecret, 'when it is ſafe for them to do ſo; but whilſt he 'continues ſolely to enjoy the ear of his Sove-'reign, it can never be any man's intereſt to ac-'cuſe him, it will always be unſafe for a private 'man to do ſo; becauſe the power of the crown 'will be employed in blaſting the credit, or pre-'venting the effect of his evidence; and probably 'in making the puniſhment fall, not upon the 'guilty miniſter, but upon the brave and honeſt 'accuſer. The caſe of the Earl of *Briſtol* in King '*Charles* Iſt's time, may ſhew, how dangerous it 'is to accuſe a favourite miniſter whilſt he is in 'the zenith of his power and intereſt at court. 'Nothing could be more juſt than the accuſation 'brought by that Earl againſt the Duke of *Buck-'ingham*, yet it produced an accuſation of high 'treaſon againſt that Earl, in which the King 'himſelf was the accuſer, and his attorney general 'the proſecutor. This was a moſt terrible ſitua-'tion which that noble Earl was brought into by 'his fidelity to his country and his own honour; 'and if the power of the crown had been in the 'ſame condition it is now, notwithſtanding the 'heinouſneſs of his charge againſt the miniſter, 'notwithſtanding his full and well vouched de-'fence as to the charge exhibited againſt him, he 'might, probably, have fallen a ſacrifice to the 'reſentment of that favourite miniſter.

'Thus, my Lords, from the danger there is in 'accuſing a miniſter, from the impoſſibility there 'is of finding any legal proofs againſt him, whilſt 'he continues in power, we may ſee the wiſdom 'of our conſtitution, that has contrived a method 'for removing him from the King's councils, with-

'out ſubjecting any ſingle man to the danger of 'miniſterial reſentment, and without making it 'neceſſary to have any particular proofs. Accord-'ing to this method, and upon the motion I am 'to make agreeable thereto, your Lordſhips are 'to form your judgment from the knowledge you 'have of our paſt conduct, and the general view 'you have of the preſent poſture of affairs, both 'abroad and at home. I am ſure, no man can 'ſay, that either the foreign or domeſtick affairs 'of this nation are at preſent in a good poſture; 'and thoſe who have for ſo long joined with me 'in blaming many of our publick meaſures, and 'in foretelling what would be the conſequences 'of them, muſt, I think, join with me in im-'puting our preſent unlucky ſituation entirely to 'our own conduct, and conſequently to thoſe, or 'to the miniſter that has had the chief ſhare in 'adviſing that conduct. For this reaſon, with 'regard to the motion I am to make, I cannot 'doubt of having the concurrence of all thoſe, 'who have joined with me in condemning any 'of thoſe meaſures that have brought us into this 'diſtreſs: Nay, I hope to have the concurrence 'of many of thoſe, who have joined in approv-'ing moſt of our late meaſures; for though Lords 'may be induced to approve of a publick meaſure 'at the time it is tranſacted, either by the deceit-'ful light in which it is repreſented by an artful 'miniſter, or by the falſe gloſs then put upon 'publick affairs, yet when time and conſequences 'clear up the truth, they may condemn the mea-'ſure they were formerly induced to approve, 'and, of all others, they have then the greateſt 'reaſon to concur in addreſſing to remove a mi-'niſter, who has deceived them, as well as their 'Sovereign.

'With regard to ſuch of your Lordſhips as 'have, by your opinions in this houſe, condemn'd

'many

'many of our late meaſures, I ſhould think it 'unneceſſary to ſay any thing farther, in favour 'of the motion I am to make; but as there are 'many Lords in this houſe, who had not an op- 'portunity to conſider, and give their opinion 'upon paſt meaſures, and as there are ſome, who 'approved moſt of them, in order to gain their 'concurrence, I think it neceſſary, and, I hope 'your Lordſhips will give me leave, to examine 'the conduct of our publick affairs for fifteen or 'ſixteen years paſt, in order to ſhew, that the 'preſent unlucky ſituation of affairs in *Europe*, 'and the preſent diſtreſs of the people in this 'nation, are both owing to our own miſconduct. 'The maxims eſtabliſhed ever ſince the Revolu- 'tion, and the maxims upon which both the late 'heavy wars were founded, have been, to pre- 'vent the increaſe of the power of *France*, to 'ſupport and increaſe the power of the houſe of '*Auſtria*, as a balance to that of *France*, and to 'prevent, if poſſible, an union between the king- 'doms of *France* and *Spain*. That theſe were 'right maxims for this nation to purſue, muſt be 'acknowledged by the friends of that miniſter, 'whoſe removal is to be the queſtion I am to put 'to your Lordſhips, becauſe the chief reaſons for 'condemning the treaty of *Utrecht*, which that 'gentleman had a great ſhare in, was on account 'of its leaving too much power in the crown of '*France*, and one of the branches of the houſe 'of *Bourbon* in poſſeſſion of the monarchy of '*Spain*; and the only reaſon we had for conclu- 'ding the treaty in 1716, by which the iſland of '*Sicily* was given to the Emperor, and in which 'that gentleman had likewiſe a great ſhare, was 'becauſe the treaty of *Utrecht* had not given a 'ſufficient power to the houſe of *Auſtria* in *Italy*. 'This, I ſay, was our motive for concluding that 'treaty, which was perhaps the foundation of all

'our

'our broils with *Spain* ever ſince that time; and 'this motive prevailed, though we had then no 'immediate cauſe to be afraid of the power of '*France*, or of an union or confederacy between '*France* and *Spain*; becauſe by the late King of '*France*'s death, and the Duke of *Orleans* get-'ting the government of that monarchy into his 'hands, the *French* nation was divided into two 'powerful factions, and a great diſtruſt eſtabliſh-'ed between the courts of *France* and *Spain*.

'Now, my Lords, if theſe maxims are ſuch as 'this nation ought to purſue, or ought ever ſince 'that time to have purſued; and if I can ſhew, 'that they have, every one of them, been de-'parted from, and that the preſent untoward 'ſtate of affairs in *Europe*, as well as the preſent 'diſtreſſed condition of this nation, are both ow-'ing to this departure, ſurely it muſt be allowed, 'that our conduct has been directed by weak 'counſels, or ſomething worſe. By the Regent's 'death, and the government of *France*'s coming 'into the hands of the Duke of *Bourbon*, a mu-'tual confidence ſeemed to be reſtored between 'the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and this ought 'to have put us upon contriving methods to in-'terrupt or diminiſh that confidence; but ſo far 'from it, that we refuſed to take advantage of 'the moſt favourable accident that could happen 'for this purpoſe. By the *French* court's ſending 'back the Infanta of *Spain*, this mutual confi-'dence was not only broke off, but an enmity 'eſtabliſhed between the two courts, which might 'have been rendered perpetual and implacable, if 'we had made the proper uſe of that accident. 'The court of *Spain* reſented ſo highly the af-'front, that they would no longer admit of '*France* as a mediator at the congreſs of *Cam-'bray*, for adjuſting the differences between them 'and the Emperor. They offered us the ſole

'mediation,

'mediation, and it was very much the intereſt of 'this nation to have thoſe differences adjuſted in 'an amicable manner, and to have a perfect good 'correſpondence reſtored, and the ancient alliance 'revived, between the courts of *Vienna* and *Ma-'drid*; but I do not know how, a maxim then 'began to prevail amongſt our miniſters, that we 'ought not to do any thing that might diſoblige 'the court of *France*; and I muſt obſerve, it was 'at that time, a certain honourable gentleman 'began to have the aſcendant in all our councils. 'For this reaſon, we refuſed to accept of the ſole 'mediation offered us both by the court of *Ma-'drid* and that of *Vienna*, or to interfere between 'them, without the aſſiſtance of the court of *France*.

'Thus, my Lords, we neglected the beſt op-'portunity that could have offered, for eſtabliſh-'ing the ſyſtem of affairs in *Europe*, upon that 'footing which is the moſt happy for this nation; 'but Providence atoned for this neglect, and 'would have done it for us, if we had not, by a 'moſt unaccountable fatality, counter-acted this 'new interpoſition of Providence. The court of '*Spain* was ſo much irritated againſt *France*, that 'they reſolved at any rate to be reconciled with 'the court of *Vienna*, and when they found they 'could get no mediators, theſe two courts began 'a correſpondence between themſelves, which 'ended in a treaty of peace concluded at *Vienna* 'the 30th of *April*, 1725, and a treaty of alli-'ance and guaranty concluded the next day at 'the ſame place. This, my Lords, was the very 'thing we ought to have wiſh'd for, the very 'thing *France* had to fear. It was the intereſt of '*Britain* to accede to this alliance, and we were 'invited to do ſo: It was the intereſt of *France* 'to break this alliance, to prevent our acceding 'to it, and to reconcile themſelves with the court 'of *Spain*, if poſſible. Theſe ends they accom-

'pliſhed;

'pliſhed; but what is moſt ſurprizing, they not 'only prevented our acceſſion to this alliance, but 'they made us their inſtrument for reconciling 'themſelves to the court of *Spain*, and for crea-'ting a new difference between the courts of *Vi-'enna* and *Madrid*. For this purpoſe, they made 'us believe, that a ſecret treaty had been conclu-'ded between *Spain* and the Emperor, by which 'theſe two powers had agreed to ſet the Pretend-'er upon the throne of theſe kingdoms, to take '*Gibraltar* from us, and to deſtroy our trade 'both in *Spain* and the *Indies*.

'I ſay, my Lords, the *French* made us believe 'this; for I am thoroughly convinced, it was all 'a forgery; and, I am convinced, the forgery 'was firſt contrived in *France*. But ſuppoſe the 'fact had been true: Was it in the power of the 'Emperor and *Spain* to carry any of theſe ſtipu-'lations into execution? Was it in the power of 'both joined together to hurt this nation either 'in its trade or poſſeſſions? What then ought we 'to have done? We ought to have deſpiſed it; 'and when theſe two powers had found that they 'had been miſguided by ſome of their miniſters, 'and adviſed to concert ſchemes, which both join-'ed together could never put in execution, they 'would have been glad to reconcile themſelves 'to this nation at the expence of thoſe who had 'put them upon forming ſuch chimerical projects. 'We had not, therefore, the leaſt occaſion to 'ſeek for allies, in order to defend us againſt 'theſe two powers, or to attack either of them, 'unleſs they had attacked us. But this would 'not have anſwered the ends of the *French* court, 'and therefore, by means of this bugbear they 'prevailed on us to join in an alliance with them 'by that moſt fatal treaty of *Hanover*. Still, this 'was not enough: The politick court of *France* 'ſaw, that the Emperor was a proper ally for

'defending *Spain* againſt an attack from them, 'but a very improper and uſeleſs ally for defend- 'ing *Spain* againſt an attack from us. For this 'purpoſe they knew, that they only were a proper 'ally for *Spain*, and in order to convince the '*Spaniſh* court of this, it became neceſſary to pre- 'vail with us, to make ſome ſort of an attack 'upon *Spain*. How to do this, one would think, 'might have appeared a little difficult even for 'the court of *France*. The treaty of *Hanover*, 'bad as it was, was only a defenſive treaty: We 'were not thereby obliged to begin the attack. 'What was then to be done?

'My Lords, the conſequence is really amaz- 'ing: They perſuaded us, that the Emperor and '*Spain* were certainly to begin the war, as ſoon 'as the latter got their treaſure home from the '*Weſt-Indies*, and that therefore it was neceſſary 'to ſend out one ſquadron to prevent the *Spani- 'ards* from making an invaſion upon us, and 'another to prevent their getting their treaſure 'home from the *Weſt-Indies*. As the *French* 'have ſhips of war as well as we have, it was 'natural for us to deſire the *French* to join with 'us in theſe expeditions; but as they had a mind 'to make us quarrel with *Spain*, without their 'having any hand in the quarrel, they got us 'to take the whole of the naval expedition upon 'ourſelves, under pretence that they were to 'make preparations by land; and accordingly we 'ſent, at a great expence, two powerful ſqua- 'drons to ſea, one to the coaſts of *Spain*, and 'another to the *Weſt-Indies*, which the *Spaniards* 'looked on as a real attack, and immediately 'began hoſtilities againſt us. However, as the '*French* had no mind that we ſhould hurt *Spain*, 'or get any advantage to ourſelves, both our 'ſquadrons had orders not to make any real at- 'tack upon *Spain*; nay, even after the *Spaniards*

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'had begun hoſtilities againſt us, and actually beſieged our town of *Gibraltar*, our good allies the *French* would neither aſſiſt us, nor allow us to commit any hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*.

'Our ſquadrons, my Lords, were only to prevent an invaſion which, I am ſure, was never intended, and by obſtructing the arrival of the *Spaniſh* treaſure, to prevent a war which, I am confident, was never deſigned. By this means, however, the *French* accompliſhed what they had in view. The court of *Spain* was in great diſtreſs for want of their treaſure, and they ſaw themſelves unable to hurt us. By this they were convinced, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to be reconciled with the court of *France*, in order to prevent their being thus inſulted by us; and this prevailed on them to forgive an affront which otherwiſe they never, perhaps, would have forgiven. As ſoon as this was done, the *French* became mediators for reconciling the differences between *Spain* and us, which they themſelves had raiſed; but this was not out of any good-will to us: It was to lead us into another ſnare, by making us joint inſtruments with them in cauſing a new difference between *Spain* and the Emperor. By the quadruple alliance it had been provided, that ſix thouſand *Swiſs* or neutral troops ſhould be introduced into the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in order to ſecure the eventual ſucceſſion of thoſe duchies to the Queen of *Spain*'s eldeſt ſon. This the Emperor had agreed to, and the Queen of *Spain* was ſatisfied with; but after the *French* had by our means, as I have ſhewn, fully reconciled themſelves to the court of *Spain*, and had become mediators between that court and us, they perſuaded her Catholick Majeſty to inſiſt, in her negotiations with us, that inſtead of neutral troops, ſix thou-

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'ſand *Spaniſh* troops ſhould be introduced into 'the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placen-* 'tia. As this was an article we had nothing to 'do with, as it was an article which, we knew, 'the Emperor would not willingly agree to, and 'conſequently would raiſe a difference between 'him and *Spain*, it is ſurprizing, we ſhould allow 'it to be mentioned in any negotiation between '*Spain* and us; yet ſo prevalent was the influence 'of the *French* upon our miniſter, that he not 'only allowed it to be mentioned in the negotia- 'tion, but agreed to its being made an expreſs 'article in the treaty of *Seville*; and for the per- 'formance of this article, we became ſureties joint- 'ly with *France*; that is, my Lords, we engaged 'to join with *France* and *Spain* in a war againſt 'the Emperor; and this we did without any ſort 'of neceſſity, without obtaining any one advan- 'tage for ourſelves.

'The Emperor foreſaw the danger of admit- 'ting *Spaniſh* troops into thoſe places, nay, it was 'foretold in this houſe when that treaty was un- 'der our conſideration; and for this reaſon the 'Emperor would by no means conſent to it, un- 'leſs we ſhould become guarantees of the Prag- 'matick Sanction, without any condition or re- 'ſtriction. This we were obliged to agree to, in 'order to get out of the labyrinth we had led 'ourſelves into, and a treaty for this purpoſe was 'concluded between the Emperor and us at *Vien-* 'na in the year 1731, without ſtipulating any one 'advantage for this nation, or ſo much as a tariff 'or treaty of commerce between this kingdom 'and the Emperor's dominions in *Italy* and *Flan-* 'ders, though our trade to both theſe places want- 'ed much to be regulated, and the latter has 'ſince furniſhed our miniſter with a pretence to 'penſion ſome of his friends, under the title of 'commiſſaries to ſettle that tariff. This treaty at

'*Vienna*, however, I ſhall not find fault with: 'The greateſt fault was, its being delayed too 'long: If we made it with a deſign to perform it, 'I ſhall allow, it was a right meaſure; but by 'what happened ſoon after, I ſuſpect, that ſome 'amongſt us had no intention to perform this 'guaranty, even at the very time it was agreed 'to; and for juſtifying my ſuſpicion in this re'ſpect, I muſt turn to the other ſide of *Europe*. 'At the very time we concluded this treaty of '*Vienna*, *Auguſtus* the late King of *Poland* was in 'a bad ſtate of health, and the nobility of *Poland*, 'as well as the neighbouring powers, were begin'ning to think of a new election. Every one 'foreſaw, that the conteſt would lie between the 'Electoral Prince of *Saxony*, ſon of the then King 'of *Poland*, and *Staniſlaus*, father-in-law to the 'King of *France*; and if we were ſerious in our 'guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction, it was eaſy 'to ſee which ſide we ought to take in this con'teſt. It was eaſy to ſee, that it was our intereſt 'to oppoſe, as much as was conſiſtent with the 'liberties of *Poland*, the election of *Staniſlaus*. 'Whether we did ſo or not, does not yet appear, 'for the Parliament was denied the liberty of ſee'ing any papers or inſtructions relating to that 'affair; but if credit is to be given to common 'fame, we ſhewed great regard to the court of '*France* in this particular, as well as every other. 'Nevertheleſs, the court of *Vienna* did their du'ty: They made all the intereſt they could a'gainſt the election of *Staniſlaus*, without in'croaching in the leaſt upon the liberties of *Po'land*. The *Muſcovites*, indeed, went a little far'ther, becauſe the republick of *Poland* was obli'ged by treaty with them, never to chuſe *Sta'niſlaus*, and therefore they oppoſed his election 'by force of arms. This gave a pretence to '*France*, in conjunction with *Spain* and *Sardinia*,

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'to attack the Emperor in the year 1733. Our 'joining the Emperor in this war would, in all 'human probability, have entirely caſt the ba- 'lance, and by the event, we might have repaired 'all the faults and overſights that were committed 'in the negotiations and treaty at *Utrecht*; but 'we remained idle ſpectators, and by this our in- 'action, the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* was 'diminiſhed, the power of *France* increaſed, and 'the whole ſyſtem of *Europe* turned upſide down; 'which to me is an evident proof, that thoſe who 'had the direction of our councils, had no inten- 'tion to perform the ſtipulations they entered in- 'to by the treaty at *Vienna* in 1731; and if they 'had not, it was a downright betraying of the 'Emperor: It was, by a treacherous promiſe, ne- 'ver intended to be performed, leading him in to 'conſent to the introducing of troops into *Italy*, 'which, he was ſure, would be employed againſt 'him the very firſt opportunity, as they accord- 'ingly were within two years after. What diſho- 'nour this brought upon the nation, what diſtruſt 'it begot among thoſe who are our natural allies, 'what injury it did to that ſyſtem of affairs in '*Europe* which it was the intereſt of this nation to 'ſupport, I need not explain to your Lordſhips.

'That this ſyſtem is now almoſt entirely over- 'thrown, is evident to every one who conſiders 'the preſent circumſtances of *Europe*; and that 'this overthrow is owing entirely to our conduct, 'I have, I think, demonſtrated. My Lords, it 'is owing to our having been in *French* leading- 'ſtrings, ever ſince a certain honourable gentleman 'began to have the aſcendant in all our councils, 'and in the conduct of our publick affairs. If 'by this conduct, if by ſacrificing our allies, and 're-uniting the two branches of the houſe of '*Bourbon*, we had got great advantages for our- 'ſelves, it would be ſome excuſe for this unac-

'countable conduct; but ſo far otherwiſe, my 'Lords, that during this whole period, and not-'withſtanding the many ſignal ſervices we have 'lately done to the houſe of *Bourbon*, we have 'been ſacrificing our trade and navigation to the 'manufacturers of *France*, and the pyrates of '*Spain*. The *French* have, during this whole 'time, been improving their trade and their ma-'nufactures at the expence of ours, and the *Spa-'niards* have been plundering our merchants, and 'interrupting our navigation, under the moſt un-'juſt and ridiculous pretences, both in the *Ameri-'can* and *Mediterranean* ſeas; without our ſtipu-'lating any thing in favour of our trade, or ma-'nufactures from the former, and without our 'obliging the latter to acknowledge our juſt 'rights, diſavow their unjuſt claims, or make ſa-'tisfaction to our injured merchants and ſeamen, 'notwithſtanding the many acts, preliminaries, 'conventions, and other ſorts of treaties, we have 'concluded with theſe two powers, and the great 'expence we have put ourſelves to, ſolely for 'their ſervice.

'In ſhort, my Lords, upon a general view of 'our conduct with regard to foreign affairs, it ap-'pears ſo unaccountable, and the conſequences 'now ſhew it to have been ſo deſtructive, that it 'is hardly poſſible to think it altogether owing to 'weakneſs; and if the truth were known, which 'never can as long as the ſame miniſters continue 'in power, and have the diſpoſal of all publick 'honours and favours, ſomething worſe than 'weakneſs, might, perhaps, be made appear by 'legal proofs. This, however, I ſhall not aver 'nor inſiſt on; but to doubt of the weakneſs of 'this conduct, or to deſire that this weakneſs 'ſhould be made appear by legal proofs, is the 'ſame with doubting or deſiring proofs of the 'parts being equal to the whole, or of the ſun's

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'ſhining when our eyes are dazled with his beams.
'Let us now examine what effect this conduct
'has had upon our domeſtick affairs. If we had
'made the proper uſe of thoſe providential acci-
'dents that occurred, for eſtabliſhing a good cor-
'reſpondence between the courts of *Madrid* and
'*Vienna*, and of courſe a ſort of diſtruſt between
'the courts of *France* and *Spain*, if we had not
'defeated the effect of thoſe accidents by our fol-
'lowing the counſels of *France*, 'tis more than
'probable, I think it is certain, that we ſhould
'have had no occaſion to keep up dangerous ar-
'mies, or fit out expenſive ſquadrons. Ten or
'twelve thouſand regular troops, and a few guard-
'ſhips as a ſecurity againſt any ſudden attack,
'would have been the moſt we ſhould have had
'occaſion for; and this expence, the malt tax and
'the land tax at two ſhillings in the pound would
'have been ſufficient to anſwer. If we had re-
'duced the publick expence within theſe bounds,
'we ſhould have been able to pay off a great part
'of our old debt, without contracting any new,
'and might have aboliſhed a great many of thoſe
'taxes which lie heavy upon poor labourers and
'manufacturers, and which, conſequently, inhance
'the price, and thereby prevent the ſale of our
'manufactures at all foreign markets. As *Spain*
'would have had a continual dependence upon,
'and a cloſe correſpondence with this nation, they
'would not have attempted to make ſuch in-
'croachments upon us as they have done; for we
'may obſerve, that their inſults and incroach-
'ments upon us, have always borne a proportion
'to the correſpondence ſubſiſting between them
'and *France*: Our *South-Sea* company would
'have met with no interruption in their trade to
'*New Spain*; nor would the ſale of our manu-
'factures have been interrupted and diſcouraged,
'as they have been, both in *New* and *Old Spain*.

'And the certain conſequence of all this would 'have been, an utter impoſſibility for *France* to 'improve or increaſe her manufactures, eſpeci- 'ally thoſe of wool; which would have been a 'more effectual ſtop to the clandeſtine exporta- 'tion of our wool, than any other method we 'can contrive; for if we could work up woollen 'manufactures as cheap as they can do in *France*, 'we could ſell them cheaper at all markets, be- 'cauſe we have the wool cheaper, which would 'prevent the ſale of their manufactures at any 'foreign market, nay, even in their own mar- 'kets at laſt, by the clandeſtine running of 'ours in upon them; and if they could ſell no 'woollen manufactures, they would neither be 'at the pains nor expence to ſteal our wool a- 'way from us.

'All theſe conſequences, my Lords, the court 'of *France* were fully ſenſible of, and therefore 'they made it their buſineſs to re-unite them- 'ſelves as ſoon as poſſible with the court of '*Spain*, to create breaches between *Spain* and us, 'and between *Spain* and the Emperor, and to 'make us put ourſelves to an extraordinary ex- 'pence upon every occaſion. All this they 'have, fatally for us, ſucceeded in; but it is 'very ſurprizing, that in every ſtep they ſhould 'have been able to make us their tools for our 'own undoing. After our being drawn in to 'the treaty of *Hanover*, as I have mentioned, 'we immediately put ourſelves to the expence 'of augmenting our army, which was before 'too numerous; of taking foreign troops, and 'foreign Princes, into our pay; and of fitting 'out coſtly, but uſeleſs ſquadrons. When *Don* '*Carlos* was to be ſent to *Italy*, we put ourſelves 'to the expence of ſending a powerful ſquadron 'to the *Mediterranean*, to pay that Prince the 'compliment of conducting him in triumph

'thither.

'thither. When the Emperor was attack'd in '1733, tho' we took no ſhare in the war, we 'took care to have a ſhare in the expence, by 'making great warlike preparations. In ſhort, 'for theſe fifteen or ſixteen years paſt, we have 'miſs'd no pretence for putting ourſelves to an 'extraordinary charge, as if we had thought, 'that the worſt thing we could do, was to pay 'off our debts, or eaſe our people of their 'taxes: When any of our neighbours came to 'an agreement, we were to raiſe armies, and fit 'out ſquadrons, in order to make them fall 'out; when any of our neighbours fell out, we 'were to raiſe armies, and fit out ſquadrons, in 'order to make them agree: When we were 'engaged in negotiations, we were to keep ar-'mies and ſquadrons in pay, in order to render 'thoſe negotiations effectual: When our nego-'tiations ended in a treaty, we were to keep ar-'mies and ſquadrons in pay, for enforcing the 'performance or obſervance of that treaty; and 'when no other pretence could be found, when 'the tranquillity of *Europe* ſeemed to be per-'fectly eſtabliſhed, we were to keep armies on 'foot, becauſe when our neighbours had no 'quarrel amongſt themſelves, they had the more 'leiſure to think of invading us.

'This, my Lords, has been our conduct with 'reſpect to domeſtick affairs, and the conſe-'quence is, that our publick debts are now very 'near as great as they were at the end of the 'laſt heavy war: If we have paid off with one 'hand, we have contracted near as much with 'the other; and no one tax that was impoſed 'during the war, has either been taken off, ſuſ-'pended, or diminiſhed, except one moiety of 'the land tax, and the ſalt tax for one year. It 'is this, my Lords, that has given the *French* 'ſuch an advantage over us with regard to trade

'and manufactures. It is this that keeps the in-
'tereſt of money at a higher rate, and private
'credit at a lower ebb in this country, than in
'any trading country in *Europe*; and it is this
'that has rendered our people generally diſcon-
'tented, which diſcontents have been very much
'heightned by the ſevere and oppreſſive laws
'that have been enacted, and the more oppreſ-
'ſive ſchemes that have been attempted, under
'pretence of their being neceſſary for collecting
'the publick revenue. The exciſe ſcheme alone
'was cauſe ſufficient for all the diſcontents that
'have ſince appeared: It was ſuch an attempt
'upon our liberties as could not but give a ge-
'neral alarm to a free nation; and it was re-
'ſented accordingly by the people. We may
'remember how the author of it was treated at
'moſt of the cities and boroughs in the king-
'dom. Whether that attempt proceeded from
'weakneſs or wickedneſs, I ſhall not determine;
'but the miniſter that patronized it ought im-
'mediately to have been removed from his Ma-
'jeſty's councils, in order to ſhew the people
'that his Majeſty no way favoured ſuch a bare-
'faced attempt upon their liberties; and if none
'about his Majeſty has yet adviſed him to re-
'move ſuch an unpopular, ſuch a hated mini-
'ſter, we ought to ſupply that deficiency. Your
'Lordſhips in this houſe are his Majeſty's great
'and chief council, and therefore, when you
'find that his other councils have neglected to
'give him proper advice, it is your duty, it is
'your buſineſs, when aſſembled here, to ſupply
'that neglect. A ſole prime miniſter may be
'able to prevent the truth's reaching the ears of
'his Maſter, by means of any of thoſe he ſuf-
'fers to have free acceſs to his Perſon; but, I
'hope, no miniſter will ever be able to intimi-
'date your Lordſhips, or prevent your ſpeaking
'decently,

'decently, freely, honeſtly and ſincerely to your 'Sovereign.

'If in a free ſtate, no unpopular miniſter 'ought to be allowed to continue in the King's 'councils, or about his perſon, I am ſure the 'motion I am to make, ought to have been the 'reſolution of this houſe, the very next ſeſſion 'after the exciſe ſcheme was rejected; but your 'Lordſhips were willing, perhaps, to indulge 'the patron of that ſcheme, with an opportu-'nity of regaining the good will of the people 'by his future conduct. Has he done ſo, my 'Lords? Has he not, almoſt in every ſtep of 'his conduct ſince that time, riveted himſelf in 'the hatred of the people, I mean thoſe who 'are not immediately in his pay, or in expecta-'tion of ſoon being ſo? It would be too tedi-'ous, my Lords, to mention all the weak and 'unpopular parts of his conduct ſince that time, 'and therefore I ſhall confine myſelf to our late 'management with regard to *Spain*. I have al-'ready ſhewn the weakneſs of the treaty of *Se-'ville*, with regard to the breach it occaſioned 'between *Spain* and the Emperor; but that was 'far from being the only one. The *Spaniards* 'had before then ſet up their pretence to a right 'of ſearching our ſhips in the *American* ſeas, 'and confiſcating ſhip and cargo, if they found 'any goods on board which they were pleaſed 'to call contraband. In purſuance of this right, 'they had confiſcated ſeveral of our merchant 'ſhips, after peace was reſtored between the 'two nations by the convention, ſigned at the '*Pardo*, *March* 6, 1728. Our merchants, after 'having applied in vain to our miniſter, made 'their application to Parliament in 1728, and 'plainly pointed out to him, what we ought to 'inſiſt on from *Spain*; yet all he deſired, or at 'leaſt obtained by the treaty of *Seville*, was a

'renewal of former treaties, tho' he knew, that 'under the colour of thoſe treaties, the *Spaniards* had ſet up this very right; and with regard to the depredations that had been committed, he contented himſelf with ſtipulating 'to have them referred to commiſſaries of each 'ſide, who were to aſſemble at the court of '*Spain*, and had three years to make their report; by which our miniſter got an opportunity of obliging ſome of his friends with penſions, and the *Spaniards* got an opportunity not 'only of continuing their depredations, but of 'robbing us of that money which our commiſſaries, their clerks and ſervants, were obliged 'to ſpend in the dominions of *Spain*.

'Theſe overſights, my Lords, might, perhaps, have proceeded from weakneſs; but it is 'impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that what followed could proceed from weakneſs alone. The *Spaniards* 'continued their depredations with as much vigour as ever, and thereby ſhewed the meaning they put upon thoſe treaties that had been 'renewed by the treaty of *Seville:* And they made ſuch trifling work with our commiſſaries, 'that before the year 1733, every one ſaw we could expect no reparation for what was paſſed, 'nor ſecurity in time to come, but by force of 'arms. The right we had to a free navigation 'in the *American* ſeas, and the right we had to carry what goods we pleaſed from one part of 'our own dominions to another, was a point 'that could admit of no diſcuſſion: It was a 'plain ſimple queſtion we were to put to the '*Spaniſh* court, Will you admit of this right or 'no? If they denied it, if they ſhuffled, the 'immediate conſequence ſhould have been a declaration of war. They did not ſhuffle: They 'in a manner expreſsly denied it: They not 'only inſiſted upon, but exerciſed the right they

'had ſet up, to ſearch every *Britiſh* ſhip they 'met with in the *American* ſeas, and to ſeize 'and confiſcate ſhip and cargo, if they found 'on board any of thoſe goods they were pleaſed 'to call contraband. This was the ſtate of af-'fairs between the two nations, when the *Spani-'ards* attack'd the Emperor in *Italy*. Ought we 'not, for our own ſake alone, to have laid hold 'of that opportunity for declaring war againſt '*Spain?* On the contrary, we continued to ne-'gotiate about a point which could admit of no 'negotiation; and tho' it was evident, that if 'we allowed the *French* and *Spaniards* to pre-'ſcribe terms to our old ally the Emperor, it 'might very probably be in their power after-'wards to preſcribe terms to us, yet we let ſlip 'this opportunity; we continued to ſuffer pa-'tiently the inſults and injuries that were put 'upon us by the *Spaniards:* We continued to 'negotiate, and by ſo doing gave up the point 'in queſtion. Nay, my Lords, the very papers 'upon our table ſhew, that either our miniſter 'and thoſe he employed did not underſtand the 'point in queſtion, notwithſtanding the clear 'light it had been put in by the repeated appli-'cation of our merchants; for after having ſeen 'how little care had been taken of them in the 'treaty of *Seville*, they had applied again to 'Parliament in the year 1730. I ſay, my Lords, 'the papers upon our table ſhew, that either 'our miniſter and his under agents did not un-'derſtand the point in queſtion, or wickedly 'gave it up; for when they complain to the '*Spaniſh* court, as they do in ſome of their 'memorials, of the *Spaniards* carrying clandeſ-'tinely ſome pieces of eight on board our mer-'chant ſhips, and then ſeizing them for having 'ſuch goods on board, they admit, that if 'thoſe goods had been found on board, with-

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'out having been firſt clandeſtinely carried there, 'it would have been a juſt cauſe of ſeizure.

'But, my Lords, this of giving up the right 'of this nation, and of mankind, by negotiation, was not enough for our miniſter; he 'was reſolved to give it up by treaty, which 'leads me to conſider our late convention with '*Spain*. By our continuing to negotiate, and 'to ſuffer, the *Spaniards* grew at laſt ſo inſolent and rapacious, that our merchants were 'forced to apply a third time to Parliament in 'the year 1738, and the reſolutions of both 'houſes thereupon were ſo ſtrong, that our miniſter found, ſomething muſt be done: A new 'treaty muſt be obtained, or a war muſt be declared. Upon this, what did he do? He put 'the nation to a great expence: He amuſed the 'people with warlike preparations; but this was 'not done, as appeared afterwards, to obtain reparation; or to force the *Spaniards* to acknowledge our undoubted rights, or diſavow the 'claims they had ſo unjuſtly ſet up. It was 'done with a view only to obtain a new treaty; 'and after he had negotiated a whole ſummer, 'at the expence of 4 or 500,000 *l.* extraordinary 'to the nation, he by treaty accepted of 27,000*l.* 'I can call it no more, in full ſatisfaction for all 'paſt depredations, damages and inſults; and 'what was ſtill worſe, he expreſsly gave up the 'freedom of our navigation in the *American* ſeas, 'by referring it to be regulated by plenipotentiaries. This, I inſiſt, my Lords, was expreſly 'giving it up; for what could our plenipotentiaries ſay to the *Spaniſh* upon this ſubject? 'They could not ſay, we will admit of no regulations in a caſe which is expreſsly referred 'to us to be regulated; and if they had admitted or agreed to any regulations, our navigation could no longer have been called free.

'Upon

'Upon this, my Lords, upon the firſt view 'of this convention, the ſpirit of this nation 'began to appear, and to exert itſelf in ſuch a 'manner, as convinced our miniſter that even 'he, notwithſtanding his unparallel'd power, 'durſt no longer venture to trifle with the ho-'nour, the trade, the navigation, and the rights 'of his country. Thus, by his own miſcon-'duct, and by that alone, he ſaw himſelf re-'duced to the neceſſity of coming to an open 'rupture with *Spain*, at a time when the affairs 'of *Europe* were in the moſt unhappy ſituation 'for this kingdom. *Spain* at that time in a 'cloſe alliance with *France:* The power of the 'houſe of *Auſtria* very much diminiſhed by the 'late war, and by his conduct brought under a 'ſort of dependence upon the court of *France:* 'The *Dutch* not at all inclined to join with us 'in any warlike ſchemes; and the kingdom of '*Sweden* entirely governed by *French* counſels. 'In theſe circumſtances it was evident, that we 'muſt either ſubmit to carry on the war againſt '*Spain*, according to *French* directions, in which 'caſe we could never expect to meet with ſuc-'ceſs, or to bring it to a concluſion; or we 'muſt reſolve to ſupport a war by ourſelves a-'lone, againſt the two powerful kingdoms of '*France* and *Spain*. In this unfortunate dilemma 'it was eaſy to chuſe; but from what has ſince 'happened, I fear our miniſter has choſen the 'worſt ſide of this dilemma. Our buſineſs cer-'tainly was to reſolve to proſecute the war with 'vigour, even tho' *France* ſhould threaten to 'join againſt us; and therefore we ought to 'have been as expeditious as poſſible, both in 'our preparations and attack; in order that we 'might have poſſeſſed ourſelves of ſome of the 'moſt convenient parts of the *Spaniſh* ſettle-'ments in *America*, or the whole, if we could,

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'before *Spain* could prepare for her defence, or '*France* prepare to aſſiſt her. I do not ſay, my 'Lords, that we ought to have poſſeſſed our-'ſelves of the whole *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, with a 'deſign to hold them, but only with a view to 'force *Spain* to a compliance, or to enable our-'ſelves to ſupport the war, in caſe *France* ſhould 'reſolve to ſupport the *Spaniards* againſt the juſt 'demands we had upon them.

'Now, my Lords, let us ſee if the warlike 'conduct of our miniſter has been better and 'more prudent than his peaceable. Tho' he 'ſaw that an immediate war was become un-'avoidable, as ſoon as the convention was pub-'liſhed in this nation: I ſay, an immediate war; 'for tho' the *Spaniards* had paid the 95,000*l.* 'yet if they had not expreſsly and immediately 'given up the point of ſearch, it would have 'been abſolutely neceſſary for us to declare war 'againſt them; and this our miniſter knew they 'would not do by fair means, therefore he muſt 'have been ſenſible, that an immediate war was 'unavoidable; yet he did not, for four months 'after, make the leaſt preparation for beginning 'it; and when it was begun, it was by way of 'repriſals only; by which method we could ne-'ver propoſe to bring the *Spaniards* to a compli-'ance, and it was giving them warning to pro-'vide againſt us, in thoſe places where it was 'moſt our advantage to attack them. When I 'ſay, attack them, I believe every one of your 'Lordſhips will ſuppoſe, I mean the *Weſt-Indies*. 'It was there, my Lords, where we could make 'the *Spaniards* moſt ſenſible of our power: It 'was there they were leaſt prepared to reſiſt us: 'It was there we could do them the greateſt 'miſchief; and it was there only we could at-'tack them with any conſiderable advantage to 'ourſelves. For this reaſon we ſhould have be-

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'gun the war, we ſhould have begun hoſtilities, 'by an attack, not upon their ſhips, but upon 'ſome of their ſettlements in that part of the 'world; and for this purpoſe we might have 'had a fleet, with five or ſix thouſand regular 'troops on board, ready to ſail for the *Weſt-In-* 'dies, before we publiſhed our repriſals, and 'that without giving the *Spaniards* any previous 'alarm. Admiral *Vernon*'s ſucceſs at *Porto Bello* 'is an evident proof of what ſucceſs we might 'have had, if that admiral had been properly 'provided for taking and holding as many of 'the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*, as he could 'conquer. We ſhould ſoon have been maſters 'of *Porto Bell* and *Panama*, which would have 'laid both *Mexico* and *Peru* open to our at- 'tacks; and by ſending that admiral proper 'ſupplies, which neither the *Spaniards* nor even 'the *French* could prevent, we might by this 'time have been in poſſeſſion of all the mines 'of *Peru*, which would have compelled the 'enemy to ſubmit to our terms, or it would 'have enabled us to ſupport and carry on the 'war at the expence of our enemies, and with- 'out loading our own people with any new 'debts or taxes.

'But inſtead of this, my Lords, what have 'we done! Nothing that can be of any great 'advantage to ourſelves, or prejudice to the 'enemy. No troops were ever ſent to the *Weſt-* 'Indies till the end of *October* laſt, which was 'above a year after the declaration of war, and 'near ſixteen months after the *Spaniards* had no- 'tice to prepare for their defence in that part of 'the world. Nay, by ſuch of Admiral *Vernon*'s 'letters as we have been indulged with the ſight 'of, it appears that, notwithſtanding the notable 'ſervices he had done to his country, notwith- 'ſtanding his repeated requeſts, no care was

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'taken to ſend him proper ſtores or proviſions, 'for enabling him to proceed in his deſigns a-'gainſt the enemy. By this neglect it would 'really ſeem, as if our miniſter were afraid, 'leſt that brave admiral ſhould too much diſtreſs 'the enemies of his country; and for this I can 'aſſign no reaſon, unleſs it be, that our miniſter 'has laid himſelf under engagements to a cer-'tain foreign miniſter, not to diſtreſs the *Spani-'ards* more than he ſhall give him leave to do. 'It would be endleſs, my Lords, to explain all 'the weakneſſes we have been guilty of ſince the 'beginning of the war: Our ſuffering the *Spa-'niſh* ſquadron to ſail from *Cadiz*, after having 'blocked it up ſo long at that port: Our ſuffer-'ing it afterwards to ſail from *Ferrol:* Our ſuf-'fering that ſquadron, and both the *French* ſqua-'drons to ſail ſo long before we ſent any ſqua-'dron to the relief of Admiral *Vernon*, and our 'colonies in the *Weſt-Indies:* Our leaving a ſqua-'dron quite inactive in the *Mediterranean:* Our 'diſtreſſing our trade by preſſing and embargoes, 'and at the ſame time neglecting to offer any re-'ward for landmen to enter into his Majeſty's ſea-'ſervice, or a ſufficient reward even for ſeamen; 'and above all, our neglecting to have in rea-'dineſs, or to fit out, a ſufficient number of 'ſmall cruiſers at the beginning of the war, for 'the protection of our trade, by intercepting 'the enemy's privateers.

'My Lords, the errors in our negotiations 'before the war were ſo enormous, the faults in 'our conduct ſince the war began have been ſo 'many and ſo glaring, that it is almoſt impoſ-'ſible for me to impute it to weakneſs alone. 'I muſt ſuſpect, that our miniſter's making 'himſelf ſuch an obedient ſlave to the views of '*France*, when they were ſo contrary to the in-'tereſt of his country; and his unwillingneſs to

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'enter into a war with *Spain*, when he had ſo 'many provocations, and ſo fair an opportunity 'for proſecuting it with ſucceſs; I ſay, I muſt 'ſuppoſe, that this unaccountable conduct pro-'ceeded from ſome private motives of his own. 'Theſe motives I have not diſcovered: They 'cannot be diſcovered whilſt he continues mini-'ſter: If I had diſcovered them, and could 'prove them to your Lordſhips, my motion 'this day ſhould not be for an addreſs to re-'move him: I ſhould, according to my duty, 'ſtand up in my place and impeach him of 'high treaſon. In the ſame manner I muſt 'impute our method of beginning the war, our 'dilatory method of proſecuting it, and parti-'cularly the great neglect of our trade, to ſome 'private motives of our miniſter's own: I am 'afraid he is under the direction of *France* in 'the proſecution of the war, as much as he 'ſeems to have been in the treaties and nego-'tiations that preceded it. But, my Lords, 'none of theſe things can be proved by a di-'rect proof, eſpecially as we have been denied 'all thoſe lights that are neceſſary for coming 'at ſuch a proof. The thing is impoſſible, and 'in the preſent caſe it is unneceſſary: Upon a 'general view of our affairs, and the preſent 'circumſtances we are in, the late conduct of 'our publick affairs both at home and abroad, 'appears to have been moſt notoriouſly weak; 'and if there be any one in the adminiſtration 'who is known, or generally ſuppoſed to have 'been for ſeveral years the ſole adviſer, and 'chief conductor of all our publick affairs, this 'apparent weakneſs is a ſufficient foundation for 'your Lordſhips to addreſs his Majeſty, that he 'would be pleaſed to remove that miniſter from 'his preſence and councils.

'That

'That there is in our adminiſtration at preſent, a miniſter who is generally ſuppoſed to have a ſuperiority in all our councils, and that he has enjoyed that ſuperiority for theſe fifteen or ſixteen years, I believe, your Lordſhips will not deſire me to prove. When I ſay that there is one man now in the adminiſtration, whoſe advice has prevailed in all our councils for fifteen or ſixteen years paſt; who has had the ſole diſpoſal of all the revenues of the crown, and of all the honours, poſts, and employments the crown could beſtow; who has, in a moſt arbitrary manner directed, not only at the board to which he properly belongs, but, by ſome of his under agents, at every other board in the kingdom; who has had it in his power to diſmiſs, not only from every publick employment, but even from the King's councils and preſence, all thoſe, let their rank be what it will, who have had the courage and honeſty to oppoſe vigorouſly any of his meaſures: When I ſay this, my Lords, I am convinced, none of your Lordſhips, I am ſure no one without doors will doubt, that I mean Sir *Robert Walpole*; and this common fame, this general opinion, is a ſufficient foundation for your Lordſhips to point your addreſs particularly at him. The weakneſs he has ſhewed in the conduct of our publick affairs, the general hatred he has incurred among the people of this kingdom, render it almoſt neceſſary for his Majeſty to remove him from his councils, leſt the diſcontents of the people, which are as yet levelled againſt the miniſter only, ſhould at laſt be converted into a general diſaffection to his preſent Majeſty, and to his illuſtrious Family.

'This danger muſt, I think, my Lords, prevail with every one that has a true regard for

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'our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, to concur 'with me in the motion I am to make; but 'there is another danger, which affects the ho-'nour, the character, and the dignity of this 'houſe. The ſame miniſter has had the mis-'fortune, by his conduct, to propagate and 'eſtabliſh a general opinion through the nation, 'that corruption is the only art of government 'he underſtands: That by corrupt means he 'gets his creatures and tools choſen at moſt of 'the elections in the kingdom: That both hou-'ſes of Parliament are induced by a corrupt in-'fluence to approve of his meaſures; and that 'the publick money is ſquandered away for the 'ſake of gaining him a legal ſupport. This 'charge cannot be proved, as long as he has the 'diſpoſal of all the money and all the favours 'of the crown; but it is ſo well eſtabliſhed by 'common fame, and ſo generally believed, that 'if you refuſe to put the queſtion upon a fair 'and impartial iſſue, by firſt putting it out of 'the power of the perſon accuſed to ſcreen him-'ſelf by means of that very crime of which he 'is accuſed, the world will be confirmed in that 'opinion, which is already too general, and too 'ſtedfaſtly believed. As the weakneſs of our 'late meaſures is manifeſt to the whole world, 'as the unpopularity of this miniſter is known 'to every man that converſes with any indepen-'dent perſon in the nation, and as he is gene-'rally ſuſpected of being a moſt notable cor-'ruptor, if you put a negative upon the motion 'I am to make, I am afraid, it may affect the 'honour, the character, and the dignity of this 'houſe, by making the world ſuppoſe that very 'negative to proceed from the influence of cor-'ruption. But as I am convinced, that no ſuch 'influence can ever prevail in this houſe, and 'as, I think, I have given ſufficient reaſons for

'your concurring with me, therefore, I ſhall 'conclude with moving your Lordſhips, 'That "an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, "that he will be pleaſed, *&c.*" (as in p. 114.)

The next that ſpoke was the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.*

Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'That this houſe, or that either houſe of 'Parliament, may addreſs the crown, for the 'removal of any miniſter, is a queſtion I ſhall 'not conteſt with the noble Lord, who has 'made you this motion; but I muſt obſerve, 'that ſuch a motion was never, ſo far as I can re-'collect, agreed to, but in troubleſome and fac-'tious times, and that general charges or gene-'ral accuſations againſt miniſters, without fixing 'upon any particular crime, or offering any 'ſort of legal proof, have ſometimes proved fa-'tal to the King himſelf. The famous caſe of 'the Earl of *Strafford* in K. *Charles* the Iſt's 'time, ought to be a warning to all future 'Kings, not to allow their miniſters to be at-'tacked in Parliament upon general rumours, 'diſguſts, or accuſations. The particular cir-'cumſtances of that caſe are ſo well known, 'that I need not recapitulate them to your 'Lordſhips: The accuſation againſt him con-'ſiſted only of ſome general charges, unſup-'ported by proper proofs; and every one knows, 'that the violent proceedings againſt that Earl 'were attended with ſuch conſequences as ended 'in a cataſtrophe, which all good men deteſt 'and abhor.

'The noble Lord was pleaſed to tell us, that 'an addreſs to remove a miniſter from the 'King's councils and preſence, can no way af-

'fect

'fect a man's perſon, freedom, or eſtate. My 'Lords, I muſt beg leave to differ from the no- 'ble Lord in this particular. Such an addreſs 'would affect a miniſter's character, and what- 'ever affects a man's character, muſt be allowed 'to affect his perſon. Do not men every day 'venture their lives for the ſake of their cha- 'racter? Would not any man chuſe to loſe his 'life, rather than live the infamy and reproach 'of his country? And ſhall we in this houſe 'attempt to inflict a puniſhment worſe than 'death itſelf, upon a man againſt whom there 'is no particular crime ſo much as alledged, 'nor any proof offered but popular reſentments, 'which are very often unjuſt, and general argu- 'ments, which, in my opinion, are far from 'being concluſive? My Lords, it is eaſy to raiſe 'objections againſt publick meaſures that have 'been tranſacted many years ago: It is impoſſi- 'ble for human wiſdom always to take the 'beſt courſe, and to make the beſt uſe of the 'common incidents that occur, or for human 'foreſight to provide againſt the extraordinary 'incidents that may happen. Time and experi- 'ence diſcover to the wiſeſt of men, many er- 'rors in their paſt conduct; and when croſs ac- 'cidents happen, every one is apt to imagine, 'they might have been foreſeen and provided 'againſt. This is obvious to every man, even 'in the tranſactions of private life; and as pub- 'lick tranſactions are much more intricate, and 'depend upon cauſes which never were, nor 'could be under our power or direction, there- 'fore the errors and miſtakes of thoſe concerned, 'muſt be more frequent, and thoſe meaſures may 'afterwards appear weak, which, at the time 'they were tranſacted, appeared to be the wiſeſt 'that could be purſued. For this reaſon, when 'we are to judge of the wiſdom or weakneſs of

'a miniſter's paſt conduct, we ought to conſider 'the circumſtances of affairs, and the appearance 'of things, as they ſtood at the time his mea'ſures were concerted; and if at that time they 'appeared to be the beſt, we are not from future 'accidents, or from a future view of things, to 'condemn them, either as weak or wicked. We 'may, perhaps, find, that our miniſter was not 'inſpired with divine wiſdom, but this can never 'be thought a good reaſon for our addreſſing the 'King to remove him from his preſence and 'councils.

'From theſe general obſervations, I hope 'your Lordſhips will be convinced, that upon 'the preſent queſtion you ought to view the 'publick meaſures now objected to, in the ſame 'light in which they appeared to you at the 'time they were ſeverally tranſacted; and, I 'hope, it will be allowed to be at leaſt an ar'gument in their favour, that every one of 'them was, after a cloſe examination, approved 'of by a majority of this houſe, at the times 'they reſpectively happened. But as I do not 'look upon this as a concluſive argument in the 'preſent debate, I ſhall beg leave to anſwer 'ſome of thoſe objections that have been made 'againſt our paſt meaſures, which I ſhall endea'vour to do from facts and circumſtances that 'are publickly known, without diſcovering any 'of thoſe ſecrets of ſtate, which, by the nature 'of my office, may, perhaps, have been com'municated to me. But I muſt obſerve, that 'in all ſuch caſes, the ſervants of the crown la'bour under a very great diſadvantage; for 'they are often, for the ſake of the publick, 'obliged to conceal thoſe facts upon which their 'conduct was founded, and which, if they 'could be revealed, would remove every ob'jection that could be made againſt it.

'The

'The treaty of *Hanover*, and ſuppoſed com-
'plaiſance for *France*, ſeem, my Lords, to be
'laid down as the foundation of all that weak-
'neſs, which ſome people pretend to have ſince
'appeared in our conduct, which is an argu-
'ment that has been often made uſe of both
'within doors and without, and, I think, as
'often anſwered as it has been ſtarted. As for
'the treaty of *Hanover*, it is now publickly
'known, that the honourable gentleman againſt
'whom this motion is levelled, whatever ſhare
'he may have in our other councils, had not
'the leaſt ſhare in the council which adviſed
'that treaty. The negotiation was begun and
'ended whilſt his late Majeſty was at *Hanover*,
'and was directed and adviſed by the *Engliſh*
'miniſters, who had the honour to attend his
'Majeſty in that journey, of which, it is well
'known, the honourable gentleman was not one.
'Both the negotiation and treaty were owing to
'the certain information his late Majeſty had of
'the private articles that had been agreed on at
'*Vienna*, between the Emperor and *Spain*, and
'to the cruel maſſacre of the Proteſtants at *Thorn*
'in *Poland*. The latter had been reſented by
'this court before his Majeſty's departure for
'*Hanover*, and deſerved to be reſented by every
'proteſtant court in *Europe*. And as to the for-
'mer, no diſcovery had been made of thoſe
'private articles, till after the King's arrival in
'his *German* dominions; and when a diſcovery
'was made, it raiſed ſuch a juſt indignation in
'his late Majeſty's breaſt, that he immediately,
'and without conſulting his miniſters here, re-
'ſolved to take proper meaſures not only for his
'defence, but alſo for ſhewing his reſentment;
'therefore, if there was any weakneſs, or any
'imprudence in concluding that treaty, it was

'not owing to the honourable gentleman whoſe 'conduct is now under our conſideration.

'But ſuppoſing, my Lords, the honourable 'gentleman to have been the chief or the ſole 'adviſer of that treaty, no man that admits the 'truth of the fact upon which the treaty was 'founded, could blame his conduct; and conſi- 'dering we have the truth of that fact atteſted by 'his late Majeſty himſelf in the moſt ſolemn man- 'ner, I think, no man, that has a true regard for 'the memory of his late Majeſty, can doubt of it. 'I ſhall, therefore, take it for granted, that there 'was a private treaty between the Emperor and '*Spain*, by which the former engaged to aſſiſt the 'latter, *totis viribus*, in endeavouring to ſtrip us 'of our valuable poſſeſſions of *Gibraltar* and *Port* '*Mahon*, and to place the Pretender upon the 'throne of theſe kingdoms; and the latter, in 'return, promiſed to ſupport the former in the 'eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend* company, and grant- 'ed ſuch privileges to his trading ſubjects in the '*Spaniſh* dominions, as would have entirely ruined 'the trade of theſe kingdoms in that part of the 'world. Can any thing, my Lords, be ſuppoſed 'more injurious to this nation? Would it not 'have been the height of imprudence to delay a 'moment reſenting, in the moſt proper manner, 'ſuch a dangerous, ſuch an inſulting treaty? And 'I do not ſee how we could have reſented it in a 'proper manner, or even guarded againſt ſome 'parts of it, without an alliance with *France*. 'Without ſuch an alliance we could not certainly 'have reſented it againſt the Emperor, and if we 'had reſented it againſt *Spain*, or endeavoured to 'vindicate our rights, with reſpect to trade, in 'the *Spaniſh* dominions, the Emperor, if we had 'not kept him in awe by an alliance with *France*, 'would have immediately attack'd *Hanover*. I 'ſhall grant, that this nation neither is obliged,

'nor

'nor ought to enter into a war on the ſole account 'of the *Hanoverian* dominions; but when thoſe 'dominions come to be attacked by a foreign 'power, ſolely on account of ſome quarrel or 'miſunderſtanding with this nation, ſurely we are 'obliged both in honour and intereſt to defend 'them.

'I muſt therefore conclude, my Lords, that 'an alliance with *France* was abſolutely neceſſary 'for us at that conjuncture; and as that alliance 'brought *France* into the danger of being attacked 'by the Emperor and *Spain*, which would proba-'bly have been the conſequence, if *Spain* had got 'home her treaſure then in the *Weſt-Indies*, we 'were, therefore, in common prudence obliged, 'in order to prevent a general war in *Europe*, as 'well as to prevent our ally being attacked, to 'put a ſtop to the coming home of that treaſure. 'This, my Lords, juſtifies the meaſures that were 'afterwards taken: The ſquadron that was ſent to 'the *Weſt-Indies*, made it impoſſible for *Spain* to 'get her treaſure from thence, which prevented 'her attacking *France* in conjunction with the 'Emperor; and the ſquadron that was ſent to the 'coaſts of *Spain*, prevented her attacking us, by 'playing the Pretender upon us, as ſhe had en-'deavoured to do, during the very laſt rupture 'we had with that nation. But as our buſineſs 'was to prevent a war, and not to begin one, 'therefore it would have been ridiculous in us to 'give orders to our ſquadrons to attack any part 'of the *Spaniſh* dominions, or to begin hoſtilities 'againſt them. Nay, even when they attack'd 'us, by laying ſiege to *Gibraltar*, as we knew 'the vanity of their attempt, and that they could 'do us very little harm, any other way than by 'ſending the Pretender with a few troops in upon 'us, it would have been imprudent in us to attack 'them in our turn; becauſe it is the intereſt of

'this nation to avoid, as much as poſſible, having 'a war with the *Spaniards*, on account of its be- 'getting a hatred and animoſity between the two 'nations, which never ends with the war, and 'while it laſts, will always be of great prejudice 'to our trade. For the ſame reaſon, as well as a 'great many others, it was our buſineſs to reſtore 'a good harmony between this nation and *Spain*, 'and alſo between us and the Emperor, as ſoon 'as poſſible, after we had once convinced both 'theſe powers of the vanity of thoſe engagements 'they had entered into againſt us, by their treaty 'at *Vienna* in 1725.

'This, my Lords, was accordingly brought 'about, by what I muſt ſtill call a ſort of dex- 'trous management, in a very ſhort time. A 'good harmony between the Emperor and mari- 'time powers, was reſtored by the preliminaries 'concluded at *Paris*, in *May* 1727, by which his 'Imperial Majeſty put an end to the *Oſtend* com- 'pany's trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the great ad- 'vantage of the *Eaſt-India* trade of this nation. 'Theſe preliminaries were agreed to by *Spain*, by 'the convention ſigned at the *Pardo*, in *March* '1727-8, whereby his Catholick Majeſty promi- 'ſed the immediate reſtitution of the ſhip *Prince* 'Frederick, and ſubmitted all the other diſputes 'between the two crowns to be debated and de- 'cided at the congreſs, which was to be after- 'wards held at *Aix la Chapelle*. This, I think, 'muſt be allowed to be purſuing the true intereſt 'of this nation, not only with the utmoſt pru- 'dence, but with the greateſt diſpatch; and the 'concluſion of the treaty of *Seville* was owing to 'the ſame ſcheme of politicks; for the congreſs 'at *Aix la Chapelle* being likely to draw out to a 'great length, by reaſon of the many differences 'that were there to be ſettled between the ſeveral 'powers of *Europe*, it would have been very in-

'convenient for this nation to have its differenc e
'with *Spain* ſo long left in ſuſpence, and there-
'fore, a ſeparate negotiation was ſet on foot for
'adjuſting thoſe differences by themſelves, which,
'in my humble opinion, was the wiſeſt thing we
'could do; and this negotiation was, in a very
'ſhort time, brought to a concluſion by the treaty
'of *Seville*, which was ſigned in *November* 1729,
'which would have put an end to all our diſputes
'with *Spain*, and would have procured us repara-
'tion for all paſt damages, if the court of *Spain*
'had been as ſincere in the execution, as they
'ſeemed fair and candid in the negotiation. But
'if the court of *Spain* afterwards ſhuffled, and
'delayed to perform what they had ſo ſolemnly
'promiſed, ſurely the inſincerity and breach of
'faith in that court cannot, with the leaſt ſhew of
'juſtice, be imputed to any of the miniſters of
'ours; and leſs to the honourable gentleman at-
'tack'd by this motion, than to any other; be-
'cauſe in his proper department he has nothing to
'do with foreign affairs, and as a member of his
'Majeſty's privy council, he muſt give his advice
'according to the lights he receives from thoſe
'who have.

'If the *Spaniards*, my Lords, had punctually
'performed and obſerved what they promiſed in
'that treaty, I believe, no man in the kingdom
'would have ever made an objection to it: On
'the contrary, I am convinced, it would have
'been look'd on by the whole kingdom, as one
'of the wiſeſt ſteps ever made by any *Britiſh* ad-
'miniſtration; but as the *Spaniſh* court neither
'performed, nor obſerved ſo much as one tittle
'of what they had promiſed, therefore, ſome
'people now find fault with every article of that
'treaty, and among the reſt, with that which
'ſtipulates the introducing of *Spaniſh*, inſtead of
'neutral troops, into the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*,

'*Parma*

'*Parma* and *Placentia*. My Lords, the difference 'between *Spaniſh* or neutral troops being in thoſe 'places is ſo very inconſiderable, that I am ſur-'prized to hear it made uſe of as an objection to 'the treaty of *Seville*. It was well known, that 'if the *Spaniards* ſhould reſolve to attack the 'Emperor in *Italy*, it would be neceſſary for 'them to ſend a much larger body of men into '*Italy* than the ſix thouſand ſtipulated by that 'article, and this the maritime powers could pre-'vent whenever they pleaſed; therefore, if the 'court of *Vienna* had kept in good terms with the '*Dutch* and us, ſo as to make it both our intereſts 'to protect his poſſeſſions in *Italy*, theſe ſix thou-'ſand *Spaniſh* troops would rather have ſerved as 'a pledge for the performance of treaties on the 'part of *Spain*, than as a means for attacking the 'Emperor in that country: Whereas, if the court 'of *Vienna* ſhould forfeit the friendſhip of the '*Dutch* and us, it ſignified nothing whether the '*Spaniards* had ſix thouſand men in *Italy* or no, 'becauſe they could ſend 20,000 of their troops 'thither whenever they had a mind, without its 'being in the power of the Emperor to prevent 'it. For this reaſon, I muſt be of opinion, that 'the court of *Vienna*'s obſtinacy in refuſing to 'admit of the introduction of *Spaniſh* inſtead of 'neutral troops into the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*, '*Parma* and *Placentia*, was a mere punctilio of 'the court of *Vienna*; and were we to ſacrifice 'the intereſt and trade of our country to a mere 'punctilio of that court? If any miniſter had pre-'vailed with our court to do ſo, I am ſure the 'noble Lord would have had more reaſon to call 'our conduct wicked, than he has now to call it 'weak.

'By that treaty, my Lords, we did not engage 'to enter into a war, in conjunction with *France* 'and *Spain*, againſt the Emperor, nor againſt any

'other power in *Europe*. Even with regard to 'the Dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, who were the 'only powers that had any real intereſt in oppo- 'ſing the entry of theſe troops, we engaged only 'to uſe ſuch applications as ſhould be conſiſtent 'with their dignity and quiet. Theſe two Dukes, 'I ſay, my Lords, were the only two powers 'that had any real intereſt to oppoſe the intro- 'duction of *Spaniſh* troops into their dominions: 'The Emperor could have no real intereſt to do 'ſo, becauſe by another article in the ſame treaty, 'thoſe troops were to be withdrawn, as ſoon as 'the ſucceſſion ſtipulated by the quadruple alliance 'ſhould take place; and really, if the Dukes of '*Tuſcany* and *Parma* had agreed to receive ſuch 'troops into their ſtrong places, I do not ſee what 'title the Emperor had to oppoſe it; for the ſo- 'vereign Princes of the Empire may bring what 'troops they pleaſe into their dominions, provided 'they do not thereby diſturb the tranquillity of 'the Empire. But ſuppoſe the Emperor had op- 'poſed the introduction of thoſe troops, and had 'by ſo doing come to a rupture with *Spain*, it is 'evident from the very words of the treaty, that 'we were not obliged to take any ſhare in that 'war; and unleſs the balance of power in *Europe* 'had been brought into danger by the event of 'the war, I do not think our intereſt could have 'induced us to engage upon either ſide of the 'queſtion.

'But, my Lords, whatever bad policy there 'might have been in this engagement for the in- 'troduction of *Spaniſh* inſtead of neutral troops, 'which we entered into by the treaty of *Seville*, 'it cannot be juſtly ſaid that it produced any bad 'conſequence. By our treaty with the Emperor 'in 1731, we got him to conſent to the intro- 'duction of *Spaniſh* troops into the ſtrong places 'of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, without any

'oppoſition;

'oppoſition; and I am glad to hear the noble 'Lord approve of that treaty: I am glad to hear, 'that any one good treaty has been made, or any 'one wiſe meaſure concerted, ſince he has had no 'ſhare in the adminiſtration; though even that 'treaty was not, it ſeems, in his opinion, ſo good 'as it ſhould have been. But if we did not by 'that treaty get all we wanted, if we did not get 'proper regulations ſettled for our trade in the '*Auſtrian* dominions, it muſt be allowed, we got 'two very good things, which was, the abſolute 'demoliſhing of the *Oſtend Eaſt-India* trade, and 'the eſtabliſhing of the tranquillity of *Europe*, by 'the peaceable introduction of the *Spaniſh* troops 'into *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*; both which 'we obtained, without entering into any engage-'ment for doing any thing, but what our own 'intereſt would have led us to, if no ſuch engage-'ment had ever been made. This article there-'fore, with reſpect to us, produced no ill effect; 'and with reſpect to the Emperor, can it be ſup-'poſed, that if there had been no *Spaniſh* troops 'in *Italy* in the year 1733, the *French* would not 'have dared to attack or declare war againſt the 'Emperor? Can it be ſuppoſed, that the *Spani-'ards* having ſuch an inconſiderable body as ſix 'thouſand men in *Italy*, was of any weight in 'prevailing with them, or the King of *Sardinia*, 'to join the *French* in that war? Or can it be 'ſuppoſed, that the ſucceſs of the *French* and 'their allies againſt the Emperor, would not have 'been as great as it was, though the *Spaniards* 'had not had a man in *Italy* at the beginning of 'the war?

'That war, my Lords, did not proceed from 'the *Spaniards* having a few troops in *Italy*, nor 'from any error or miſconduct in us. It proceed-'ed entirely from the miſconduct of the court of '*Vienna:* That court had intermeddled in the e-

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'lection of a King of *Poland*, perhaps more than 'they had occaſion to do; and they had for many 'years behaved in ſuch a manner towards the '*Dutch*, as made that Republick very cool in eve-'ry thing that related to the houſe of *Auſtria*. 'The *French* knew that the *Dutch* would no way 'intermeddle in the quarrel between them and 'the Emperor: They had actually brought the '*Dutch* into a treaty of neutrality before they 'attack'd the Emperor; and they ſuppoſed, as 'they very well might, that this nation would 'not, without the *Dutch*, take any ſhare in the 'war, unleſs they and their allies ſhould puſh 'their ſucceſs againſt the Emperor ſo far, as to 'endanger the balance of power in *Europe*. With 'reſpect to our trade, it would have been one of 'the moſt unwiſe things we could have done, to 'have engaged ourſelves in a war againſt *France*, '*Spain* and *Sardinia*, whilſt the *Dutch* remained 'neutral; for it would of courſe have transferred, 'during the continuance of the war, a great part 'of our trade, and our whole navigation, to the '*Dutch*; ſo that if the war had laſted long, as it 'probably might, this nation would have been 'undone, even though we had met with the 'greateſt ſucceſs in the proſecution of the war; 'for whatever the Emperor might expect, this 'nation could expect no advantage from that ſuc-'ceſs, and the chief burden of the war, with re-'gard to the expence, muſt neceſſarily have fallen 'upon us.

'This, my Lords, the *French* were very ſenſi-'ble of: They had experienced the wiſdom of 'ſome of thoſe who had the direction of our af-'fairs, from whence they foreſaw, that we would 'not meddle in the war, when it was ſo contrary 'to our intereſt to do ſo; and therefore, after 'having prevailed with the *Dutch* to agree to a 'treaty of neutrality, they thought they had a fair

'opportunity

'opportunity for ſhewing their reſentment againſt 'the court of *Vienna*, on account of the conduct 'of that court with relation to the election of a 'King of *Poland*. Theſe conſiderations, I ſay, 'encouraged the *French* to attack the Emperor at 'that time, and theſe conſiderations, joined with 'the hopes of getting ſomething by the event of 'the war, encouraged *Spain* and *Sardinia* to join 'with them. The imperial court therefore owed 'that misfortune to their own conduct towards 'the *Dutch*; for however much we ſtood engaged 'to guarantee the Emperor's poſſeſſions in *Italy*, 'by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between him 'and us, we were not obliged to expoſe our trade, 'and conſequently ourſelves, to certain ruin on 'that ſingle account, eſpecially as the imperial 'court had brought that war upon themſelves, 'by endeavouring to prevent a free election in the 'kingdom of *Poland*.

'If the *French*, my Lords, had been actuated 'by ſuch ambitious motives of conqueſt, as they 'were in *Lewis* the XIVth's time, I ſhall grant, 'that we ought for our own ſafety, as well as for 'the ſafety of *Europe*, to have joined with the 'Emperor in that war; but we very well knew, 'and the event ſhewed, they were not. They 'even bridled their ambition, and put a ſtop to 'their conqueſts in the midſt of victory. They 'left the houſe of *Auſtria* very near as powerful 'as it was before, and they added but very little 'to their own power; for if the houſe of *Auſtria* 'loſt *Naples* and *Sicily* by that war, it got *Tuſca-* 'ny, *Parma* and *Placentia*; and conſidering that 'theſe duchies lie adjacent to the other *Auſtrian* 'dominions in *Italy*, it cannot be juſtly ſaid, that 'the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* was much 'diminiſhed by the event of that war; nor was 'the power of *France*, as I have ſaid, much en- 'larged; for though by that event the *French* got

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'the abſolute property of the duchy of *Lorain*, 'their power was not thereby much enlarged; 'becauſe they had before a ſort of arbitrary power 'over that duchy, and did actually take poſſeſſion 'of it, and put gariſons into all its fortified towns, 'whenever they had the leaſt occaſion for ſo do-'ing.

'I cannot therefore ſee, my Lords, how the 'affairs of *Europe* were brought into any unhappy 'ſituation, or how the balance of power was en-'dangered, by the event of that war. I ſhall 'grant, that both theſe misfortunes might have 'been the conſequences of the proſecution of that 'war, if the *French* and their allies had puſhed 'their conqueſts too far, or endeavoured to proſe-'cute it in a different manner; and, in order to 'prevent this, his Majeſty took the beſt method 'that could be taken in that conjuncture: He in-'creaſed his forces both by ſea and land, and 'thereby put himſelf in a readineſs to give a check 'to any views of ambition, upon which ever ſide 'they might appear. This, perhaps, was one of 'the reaſons, why the *French* were ſo moderate 'in their demands, when they began to negotiate 'a peace with the Emperor; and that peace, I 'think, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid to 'the contrary, left the ſituation of affairs in *Eu-'rope* in as happy a ſituation for this kingdom, as 'could well be deſired. The power of the houſe 'of *Auſtria* was much greater than it was in the 'beginning of the late Queen *Anne*'s reign: The 'power of *France* was not near ſo great, nor was 'the union between the crowns of *France* and 'Spain ſo firm, as at that time; and if *France* 'had ſince ſhewed any ſuch ambitious views as 'ſhe did at that time, it would have been eaſy 'for this nation to have formed a more powerful 'confederacy againſt her. I ſhall, indeed, admit, 'my Lords, that the preſent ſituation of the af-

'fairs

'fairs of *Europe* is a little unfortunate for this nation; but it is entirely owing to the unlucky accident of the late Emperor's happening to die, before a King of the *Romans* was choſen. This accident might, 'tis true, have been, and was, I believe, foreſeen by our miniſters; but it was impoſſible for them to provide againſt it, without the concurrence of the court of *Vienna*, and a majority of the Electors of the Empire; which was a concurrence they could not abſolutely command, had every one of them had as great wiſdom and capacity as ever any mortal man was indued with.

'Having now, I hope, my Lords, removed all the objections that have been made to our conduct, ſo far as it relates to the balance of power, and the preſent ſituation of affairs in *Europe*, I ſhall take up but very little of your Lordſhips time in anſwering the objections that have been made to that part of our conduct which relates to our affairs with *Spain*, or to our own domeſtick affairs. Our negotiations with *Spain*, my Lords, were all along founded upon this principle, That as long as there was any hopes of obtaining redreſs by peaceable means, we ought not to have recourſe to arms. This principle will, I hope, be allowed to be right in itſelf, and it has been all along approved of by Parliament. Therefore, in thoſe negotiations his Majeſty has acted rather by the advice of his Parliament, than by the advice of his miniſters; at leaſt, if it was the advice of his miniſters, it was ſuch as has been approved of and recommended by his Parliament, which I muſt look on as a very ſtrong argument in its favour; for, I ſhall always have a much greater regard for the voice of Parliament within doors, than for the clamours of the people without; and, for this reaſon, I muſt be of opinion, that a mini-

'ſter's

'ſter's wiſdom and ſteadineſs may ſometimes be 'the cauſe of his becoming unpopular. In all 'countries, falſe notions, notions inconſiſtent with 'the publick good, ſometimes prevail among the 'generality of the people, eſpecially when thoſe 'notions are inculcated and propagated by a party 'who oppoſe the publick meaſures, not becauſe 'they are wrong, but becauſe they do not like the 'men, or perhaps, becauſe they are not the men 'that adviſe and carry them on. This, I ſay, 'often happens in every country, and in no caſe 'ſo commonly as in that which relates to peace or 'war. In ſuch a caſe, a miniſter who looks into 'futurity, and ſteadily purſues the good of his 'country, in oppoſition to a prevailing clamour, 'may become very unpopular, and may continue 'ſo for ſome time; but, when the people become 'cool, and have leiſure to conſider things ſeriouſly 'and maturely, that unpopularity will be convert-'ed into a general eſteem, and he will be admired 'for his ſteadineſs as well as for his wiſdom; 'therefore it will be a very imprudent maxim for 'the Sovereign, even of this free country, to diſ-'miſs a miniſter on account of any popular cla-'mour that may ariſe, or be ſpirited up againſt him.

'We are not therefore, my Lords, to imagine, 'that our miniſters are guilty, either of weakneſs 'or wickedneſs, becauſe they did not declare war 'againſt *Spain*, as ſoon as it was thought neceſſary 'by the mob without doors, ſpirited up by thoſe 'who had ſuffered by the *Spaniſh* depredations, 'and who of courſe were more ſwayed by mo-'tives of revenge, than by any motives founded 'on the publick good of the nation in general, 'which did not permit that we ſhould enter into 'a war whilſt there were any hopes of obtaining 'redreſs by negotiation. This was our caſe in 'the year 1733, when the war happened between '*France* and the Emperor. We had then very

'good reaſon to hope, that *Spain* might be 'brought to reaſonable terms by fair means; 'therefore we had no occaſion, on our own ac- 'count, to attack *Spain* at that time; and I have 'ſhewn, that we had no other call to take any 'ſhare in that war. From that time, the court of '*Spain* ſtill gave us hopes of obtaining redreſs by 'negotiation, and, at laſt, went ſo far as to pro- 'miſe it by a ſolemn treaty. I mean, my Lords, 'the convention. I ſhall not trouble your Lord- 'ſhips with anſwering the objections that have 'now been made to it, becauſe they were all fully 'anſwered when it was under our conſideration: 'I ſhall only ſay, that if the court of *Spain* had 'performed what they promiſed by that treaty, 'and had afterwards acted as candidly as they 'treated, we ſhould have had no occaſion to de- 'clare war againſt them. But they did neither; 'and then, and not till then, a rupture became 'neceſſary.

'As for our conduct ſince that time, my Lords, 'I did not expect, that, upon a motion of this 'kind, it ſhould eſcape cenſure; becauſe, in time 'of war, it is ſo eaſy to find faults, let the war 'be never ſo well conducted. As our complaints 'againſt *Spain* were founded upon their having 'ſeized ſome of our merchant ſhips upon unjuſt 'pretences, the moſt proper method of ſeeking 'redreſs, after the court of *Spain* had denied it by 'fair means, was by repriſals. We had no pre- 'tence for declaring war till the *Spaniards* ſeized 'our ſhips in their ports, and, without the leaſt 'pretence, publiſhed repriſals againſt us. Upon 'this we declared war, and as ſoon as we had de- 'clared war, we began to prepare for attacking 'them in the proper place; but we were firſt, in 'common prudence, obliged to prepare for our 'own defence, not ſo much on account of any 'attack we had to fear from the *Spaniards*, as on

'account

'account of a neighbouring power that might, 'perhaps, reſolve to join with *Spain* againſt us. 'That power has not, 'tis true, yet done ſo; but 'this may be owing to the preparations we have 'made for our defence at home; for nothing can 'be more effectual for preventing any other na- 'tion's joining with *Spain* againſt us, than their 'ſeeing, that it is out of their power to hurt us. 'At the ſame time that we provided for our de- 'fence, we were likewiſe providing a fleet, and a 'proper number of land forces, for attacking the 'enemy; and if that fleet did not ſail ſo ſoon as it 'ought to have done, and was expected, it was 'owing entirely to contrary winds, which, I hope, 'will not be looked on, as proceeding from the 'weakneſs or miſconduct of our miniſters.

'Now, my Lords, with reſpect to our domeſ- 'tick affairs, as I have ſhewn, that no objection 'can be juſtly made to any part of our conduct 'relating to foreign affairs, and as a great part of 'the expence we have been at, has been owing to 'the ſeveral broils we have been involved in with 'the other powers of *Europe*, if our debts are not 'greatly diminiſhed, nor our taxes aboliſhed, it is 'not owing to the weakneſs of our miniſters, but 'to the extraordinary expence we have been from 'time to time put to; and to a reſtleſs, diſaffected 'party at home, which has all along obliged us 'to keep in pay a more numerous ſtanding army 'than we ſhould otherwiſe have had occaſion for. 'And as to the ſevere penal laws that have been 'enacted, and the dangerous ſchemes that have 'been attempted, they relate only to the collection 'of the publick revenue; therefore, if there be 'any ſeverity in the laws, or if there was any 'danger in the ſchemes, both ought to be im- 'puted to the wickedneſs of our ſmugglers and 'clandeſtine traders, and not to the weakneſs or 'wickedneſs of our miniſters. This was the caſe

'of the late exciſe-ſcheme, which, I ſtill think, 'could not in the leaſt have affected our liberties, 'had it paſſed into a law; and am of opinion, 'that the clamours raiſed againſt it were chiefly 'owing to our ſmugglers being conſcious, that it 'would have been effectual for the end intended. 'It was this that made them ſo active in raiſing a 'popular clamour againſt that ſcheme, and conſi-'dering their numbers, and the intereſt the people 'have in being able to purchaſe at a cheap rate, I 'do not at all wonder at their ſucceſs.

'I hope, my Lords, I have now ſhewn, that 'we have not the leaſt occaſion to addreſs his 'Majeſty to remove any one of his miniſters from 'his councils; and therefore, I hope the motion 'will meet with the fate it deſerves: I am ſure, I 'ſhall moſt heartily give it my negative.'

The next that ſpoke was the Duke of *Argyle*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows, *viz.*

Duke of *Argyle*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'I ſhall join in the obſervation made by the 'noble Duke, That ſuch an addreſs as is now 'propoſed to your Lordſhips, was never agreed 'to, but in troubleſome and factious times; but 'he and I may, perhaps, differ in the application 'of theſe terms. The nation muſt always be in 'trouble, when it has the misfortune to be under 'the government of a weak or wicked miniſter; 'and when ſuch a one ingroſſes the ear of his So-'vereign, and thereby prevents all good advice 'from approaching the throne, there is certainly 'a moſt wicked and dangerous faction in the 'kingdom. But who, my Lords, are the authors 'of that trouble? Who are they that are the fo-'menters and ſupporters of that faction? Not 'thoſe that are endeavouring, by the legal me-'thods preſcribed by our conſtitution, to remove 'that miniſter, but they that are for obſtructing

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'all ſuch methods, and for ſupporting him in 'that power, which he has by his cunning and 'ſycophancy uſurped. The miniſter, and his 'creatures and tools, are the faction, and the 'ſole cauſe of the nation's trouble; and when 'they, by obſtructing all legal methods of re-'dreſs, drive the people to the extremity of be-'ing oblig'd to make uſe of violent means, it is 'they, and they only, that are to be deemed 'the authors of all the misfortunes that enſue.

'In this light, my Lords, we ought to view 'all the conteſts between Parliaments and mini-'ſters, that are mentioned in our hiſtory; for I 'defy the world to ſhew, that ever a favourite 'of the crown was attack'd by Parliament, ei-'ther by addreſs, impeachment, or otherwiſe, 'but ſuch as highly deſerved it. Will any one 'ſay, that the Earl of *Strafford*, in King *Charles* 'the Iſt's Reign, did not deſerve to be attack'd 'by Parliament? I am convinced the noble 'Duke will be as far from juſtifying all the pre-'ceding meaſures of that reign, as I ſhall be 'from juſtifying all the future meaſures that 'were taken againſt that unfortunate and delu-'ded Prince. But it was the violent methods 'firſt made uſe of by the court, that gave riſe 'to the violent methods afterwards taken by the 'Parliament; and therefore, it was not the pro-'ſecutors of that King's miniſters and favou-'rites, but the miniſters and favourites them-'ſelves, that were the original authors of all 'the misfortunes, and of the fatal cataſtrophe, 'that happened to him. In order to ſcreen his 'miniſters from a parliamentary proſecution, he 'had abruptly diſſolved ſeveral Parliaments, and 'had ſuſpended the holding of any for a great 'number of years; during which time a multi-'tude of illegal and violent means were practi-'ſed by the court, for raiſing much leſs money

'than the Parliament would have willingly 'granted him, if he had given up ſome of his 'guilty favourites to juſtice. This inflamed the 'ſpirits of the people to ſuch a degree, that it 'afterwards became eaſy for wicked and deceit-'ful men to direct that national reſentment a-'gainſt the crown, which ought to have been 'directed only againſt the miniſters of the 'crown; and therefore, the caſe of my Lord '*Strafford*, inſtead of being a warning to future 'Kings, not to allow their miniſters to be at-'tack'd by Parliament upon general rumours, 'ought to be a warning to all future Kings, not 'to ſet themſelves up as a ſcreen for their mini-'ſters; and, I hope, it will be a warning to all 'future Parliaments, not to allow their reſent-'ment to carry them beyond the bounds preſcri-'bed by our conſtitution.

'The error committed by the Parliament, in 'the caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, was not in 'their having attack'd him as a weak or wicked 'miniſter, but in the method by which they car-'ried on that attack. Upon general rumours 'and accuſations they found him guilty of high 'treaſon, and condemned him to die, by act of 'Parliament, which was a method of proceeding 'that could not be warranted by our conſtitu-'tion; but will any one ſay, that it would have 'been wrong in the Parliament to have addreſſed 'the King to remove him from his councils and 'preſence? Will any one ſay, that the accuſa-'tions brought againſt him, or the general ha-'tred he had drawn upon himſelf, were not 'ſufficient for this purpoſe? My Lords, the ve-'ry nature of our conſtitution muſt convince us, 'that the publick odium alone is ſufficient cauſe 'for the King to diſmiſs any miniſter that has 'drawn it upon himſelf, becauſe in a free coun-'try the King is to govern by the affections o

'the people, and not, like arbitrary Princes, by 'the terrors of his reign. But as the King has 'no way ſo proper for knowing the ſentiments 'of his people, either about the meaſures he is 'adviſed to purſue, or the miniſters he is pleaſed 'to employ, as by the addreſſes or remonſtran-'ces of his Parliament; as the ſentiments of the 'people may be, and generally are, very much 'miſrepreſented to him, by his miniſters and 'favourites, therefore it is our duty to give him 'a true Information; and when we perceive that 'any one of the King's miniſters has incurred 'the general hatred of the people, we betray 'our Sovereign, at leaſt we are guilty of a 'failure in our duty towards him, if we do not 'addreſs him to remove ſuch a miniſter; for no 'King can expect to preſerve the affections and 'eſteem of the people, if he employs ſuch as 'are hated and deſpiſed by them.

'An addreſs therefore, my Lords, to remove 'a miniſter from the King's councils and pre-'ſence, may be ſufficiently founded upon gene-'ral rumours or general diſguſts, and may be 'agreed to, nay, in many caſes ought to be a-'greed to, without any particular accuſation, 'and conſequently without any proof. A mini-'ſter's character neither is, nor can be affected 'by ſuch an addreſs; for a man's character de-'pends entirely upon his own conduct, and can 'never be loſt by any ſort of judicial proceed-'ing. On the contrary, if a man be really in-'nocent, and by ſome error in his conduct, or 'ſome extraordinary misfortune, has had his 'character expoſed, or brought under ſuſpicion, 'by a full and fair trial the ſuſpicion will be re-'moved, and his character reſtored; ſo that if a 'miniſter has loſt his character, and has fallen 'into a general hatred among the people, an 'addreſs for removing him may be a means for

'reſtoring his character; becauſe after he is, in 'purſuance of that addreſs, removed, he may 'then be brought to full and open parliamentary 'trial, and fairly acquitted of all thoſe crimes or 'failings he was before ſuppoſed to be guilty of, 'which never can be the caſe, as long as he 'continues in power; for during the continu-'ance of his power, every inquiry into his con-'duct will be ſome way influenced by the fa-'vours he has to beſtow; and even ſuppoſe he 'ſhould be fairly acquitted, it will not reſtore 'his character, becauſe the world will believe, 'his acquittal was not owing to his innocence 'but to his influence.

'For this reaſon, my Lords, I hope we ſhall 'have, in this motion, the concurrence of all 'thoſe who have a true regard for the character 'of the miniſter, and at the ſame time a tho-'rough conviction of his innocence. I believe 'every Lord in this houſe is ſenſible, that he 'has already loſt his character with a great ma-'jority of the people of this nation, and that 'he is generally and violently ſuſpected not only 'of great failings, but of heinous crimes. Is 'not he ſuſpected of having ſolely ingroſſed the 'ear of his Sovereign, and excluded from his 'Maſter's preſence, as well as confidence, every 'man that diſdains being a ſlave to him? Is he 'not ſuſpected of having ingroſſed the ſole diſ-'poſal of all the favours of the crown, and the 'ſole direction of all the offices of the king-'dom? Is he not ſuſpected of having endea-'voured to deſtroy the independency of Parlia-'ment, and the freedom of elections, by ma-'king an abject ſubmiſſion to his will and di-'rection the ſole title to the obtaining of any 'favour from the crown, or the holding of any 'poſt which the crown can take away? Is he 'not ſuſpected of having applied the publick

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'money towards gaining an undue and corrupt 'influence, both in Parliament and at elections? 'Is he not in general ſuſpected of having a de'ſign, by the continuance and increaſe of uſe'leſs offices, and the multiplicity of penal laws, 'to eſtabliſh in the crown an abſolute and un'controlable power? And with regard to fo'reign affairs, is he not ſuſpected of having, by 'his weakneſs or wickedneſs, ſacrificed the in'tereſts of his country, and the intereſts of *Eu*'*rope*, to the cultivating of a dangerous friend'ſhip and correſpondence with *France?* Is he 'not ſuſpected of having expoſed both the ho'nour and the trade of his country to the in'ſults of *Spain*, for no other reaſon but for the 'ſake of preſerving that friendſhip and corre'ſpondence?

'Theſe, my Lords, and a great many more 'I could mention, are ſuſpicions his character 'now lies expoſed to. That theſe ſuſpicions 'are generally entertained, no man can be ig'norant, that ever makes an excurſion beyond 'the purlieus of the court, or converſes with 'any independent man in the kingdom. That 'the people are generally diſſatisfied with our 'publick meaſures, and conſequently with thoſe 'that adviſe them, is evident from the great 'ſale of all pamphlets and papers on one ſide, 'and the bad reception given to the gratuitous 'pamphlets and papers on the other; for this 'cannot be owing to any ſuperiority of genius 'in the authors, becauſe when the meaſures of 'a government are right, thoſe of the brighteſt 'parts will certainly engage in their defence; 'and yet we have ſeen in our days, what poſte'rity will ſcarcely believe: We have ſeen Par'liaments approving what no man of genius 'would daign to defend. Thus, my Lords, I 'have laid before you a true ſtate of the caſe,

'with regard to the character of the honourable 'gentleman whoſe conduct is now under our 'conſideration; and as this is really the caſe, 'if I were convinced of his innocence, as a 'friend to him, I ſhould adviſe him to reſign, 'in order that he might have his character vin-'dicated by an impartial, a ſtrict, and a fair en-'quiry; and if he refuſed my advice, I ſhould 'from that very refuſal begin to ſuſpect his in-'nocence, and conſequently ſhould agree to the 'addreſs now propoſed.

'This, I ſay, my Lords, ſhould be my beha-'viour as a friend to him, if I were convinced 'of his innocence; but as I have my own ſuſ-'picions as well as other people, and have, per-'haps, more reaſon than moſt other people; 'therefore, as a faithful counſellor to my Sove-'reign, which I have the honour to be by my 'having a ſeat in this houſe, and as a ſincere 'friend to my country, I muſt be for agreeing 'to the addreſs propoſed; and that my ſuſpici-'ons may appear not to be groundleſs, I ſhall 'take the liberty to examine ſome of our late 'publick meaſures, and endeavour to ſhew the 'weakneſs of thoſe arguments that have been 'made uſe of for their juſtification, in the do-'ing of which I ſhall take the noble Duke's ad-'vice, and conſider the circumſtances of affairs, 'and the appearance of things, as they ſtood at 'the time thoſe meaſures were concerted; which 'I may with the greater freedom do, becauſe I 'had no ſhare in adviſing them; for tho' I was 'one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy 'council, it is well known, I ſeldom attended, 'thinking my attendance both unneceſſary and 'improper, when I found my advice was of no 'weight, nor the leaſt regard had to what I ſaid 'in ſupport of it; from whence I had great rea-'ſon to ſuſpect, that the reſolutions of that

'board

'board were foreſtalled, and that we came there 'only to give an authority to, and perhaps, an 'excuſe for, what had ſomewhere elſe been re-'ſolved on.

'This, my Lords, has been long one of my 'ſuſpicions, and from hence I cannot but with 'the reſt of the nation ſuſpect, that the mini-'ſter, whoſe conduct is the ſubject of the pre-'ſent debate, has ſolely ingroſſed the ear of his 'Sovereign; and that a cold reception at court 'is generally the conſequence of differing in 'any material point from this miniſter, I be-'lieve, ſeveral of your Lordſhips as well as my-'ſelf are examples. Theſe examples, my Lords, 'if they are not proofs, they afford at leaſt 'ſtrong preſumptions, and are one of the cau-'ſes of the nation's believing, that this mini-'ſter has ſolely ingroſſed the ear of his Sove-'reign, and thereby uſurped the ſole diſpoſal of 'all the favours of the crown, and the ſole di-'rection of all the royal offices in the kingdom; 'and this ſuſpicion is confirmed by what every 'one muſt obſerve, that ever heard of the crowds 'at his levee. By that department which pro-'perly belongs to him, he has to do with no-'thing but what belongs to the management of 'the publick revenue; and therefore, if he con-'fined himſelf to his own department, he could 'have his levee frequented by none but ſuch as 'are ſolliciting warrants from the treaſury, or 'poſts in the collection and management of the 'publick revenue; and conſidering the amount 'of the preſent revenue, and the number of of-'ficers employed, I ſhould think that this alone 'would afford a crowd ſufficient for ſatisfying 'the vanity of any miniſter in the kingdom.

'But inſtead of this, my Lords, does not 'every one know, that the levee of this mini-'ſter is haunted by Lords who, I hope, neither

'have

'have nor expect any penſions? By land and ſea 'officers, who ought not to be allowed to ex- 'pect any perferment by his favour or recom- 'mendation? By lawyers, who ought not to be 'allowed to expect being appointed judges by 'his means; and by many of the Reverend Bench, 'and multitudes of other clergymen who, I 'hope, expect tranſlations or preferments from 'their piety and learning, and not by neglect- 'ing their devotion, and trifling away their pre- 'cious time in attending his levees? My Lords, 'it is needleſs to deny or diſguiſe this charge: 'The candidates for preferment have in all 'countries moſt excellent noſes: They will 'ſmell out the proper road to preferment; 'and when the world ſees candidates of all 'ſorts in one road, the world will judge, and 'moſt reaſonably judge, that to be the ſole road 'to preferment. From hence the general ſuſ- 'picion againſt this miniſter has ariſen. If the 'ſuſpicion be well grounded, he is in ſome de- 'gree guilty of high treaſon, by the known 'laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, and 'ought to be impeached as well as removed; 'but the very ſuſpicion is a ſufficient cauſe for 'addreſſing the King to remove him, becauſe 'the people can never be eaſy whilſt a man is in 'power who, in their opinion, is a traitor a- 'gainſt the laws and conſtitution of his coun- 'try; for a man who is in danger of ſuffering 'by the law, will certainly endeavour to over- 'turn the law. Therefore, to diſſipate the fears 'and jealouſies of the people, and to make 'them eaſy under the government of their So- 'vereign, ſuch a miniſter ought to be removed; 'and after he is removed, the Parliament may, 'without running the riſk of being thought cor- 'rupted, acquit him, if upon a fair trial he ap- 'pear to be innocent; and every member may

'then,

'then, without fear, give his vote againſt him,
'if he ſhould appear to be guilty.

'The next general ſuſpicion I took notice of
'is, his having endeavoured to deſtroy the in-
'dependency of Parliament and freedom of e-
'lections, by diſpoſing of the favours of the
'crown to ſuch only as vote in Parliament, or
'at elections, according to his direction, and
'turning every man out of the employment he
'holds at the pleaſure of the crown, if in ei-
'ther caſe he diſobeys his orders. My Lords,
'the maxim which is the chief corner ſtone of
'our happy conſtitution is, That the King has
'nothing to do with a man's behaviour in Par-
'liament or at elections. King *William* was ſo
'ſenſible of this, that when his miniſters ad-
'viſed him to diſmiſs an officer of the army,
'for having voted upon ſome occaſion againſt
'them in Parliament, he anſwered as every juſt
'King ought, and as every wiſe one will, The
'gentleman has always behaved well as an offi-
'cer of the army, and I have nothing to do
'with his behaviour as a member of Parliament.
'This, my Lords, ought to be the maxim of
'every King of this country; for if the con-
'trary maxim ſhould ever prevail: If the King
'ſhould lay it down as a maxim, not to beſtow
'a favour upon any one, or continue in com-
'miſſion any officer, but ſuch as vote according
'to the directions of his miniſters, the diſpoſal
'of the poſts and offices neceſſary for the ſup-
'port of our government, muſt either be taken
'from the crown, or the crown will take from
'the Parliament its independency, and conſe-
'quently from our conſtitution its happineſs and
'freedom; therefore I muſt be of opinion, that
'it is a high degree of treaſon in any miniſter
'to adviſe the King to lay down ſuch a maxim,
'or to have any regard to a man's voting in

'Par-

'Parliament or at elections, in the diſtribution 'of thoſe favours which the crown has to be- 'ſtow.

'That the miniſter now propoſed to be re- 'moved is guilty of this crime, is not only ge- 'nerally ſuſpected, but muſt, I think, evidently 'appear to every one who conſiders either his 'practice or his declarations. His practice is 'well known to every man in the nation, and 'has been confirmed by many flagrant inſtances 'in both houſes of Parliament; and his declara- 'tions have been ſo extravagantly open, that he 'ſeems to brave the conſtitution, and defy the 'laws of his country. No longer ago than laſt 'ſeſſion but one, he declared openly, in the 'very face of a houſe of Parliament, *That he 'ſhould think him a very pitiful fellow of a mini- 'ſter, who did not turn any officer out of the army, 'that endeavoured to make him leſs a miniſter, by 'oppoſing his meaſures in Parliament.* This, my 'Lords, was ſo open a declaration of his crimi- 'nal intentions, ſuch an avowed attack upon 'the very eſſence of our conſtitution, and deli- 'vered in ſuch a place, that I am ſurprized it 'did not occaſion an immediate impeachment. 'From a man who was no miniſter, ſuch a de- 'claration might be conſidered only as a bare 'opinion; but from a man who was well known 'to be a miniſter, and generally believed to be 'the ſole miniſter, it was a great deal more than 'an opinion. My Lords, it was an ouvert act, 'a direct attack upon our conſtitution, becauſe 'it was openly directing the officers of the army 'how to behave at elections and in Parliament: 'It was threatning them, that if they did not 'ſacrifice their honour in Parliament to his fa- 'vour, they ſhould their commiſſions in the 'army to his reſentment.

'Thank

'Thank God! I was not a member of the 'aſſembly where theſe words were ſpoken: I 'could not have heard them with patience: I 'can ſcacely repeat them with patience; but I 'have, my Lords, I believe every one of your 'Lordſhips has as good proof of ſuch words 'being uttered, and of their being uttered by 'this miniſter too, as can be had of any ſuch 'fact whatſoever; and if your Lordſhips believe 'this fact, can you heſitate a moment about 'addreſſing his Majeſty to remove him from his 'councils and preſence for ever? My Lords, 'this very declaration, if there were nothing 'elſe, has made it abſolutely inconſiſtent with 'our conſtitution for his Majeſty to keep him 'any longer in his ſervice; for while he conti-'nues to be a miniſter, no man that has or ex-'pects any poſt or office under the crown, can 'vote with freedom either at elections or in 'Parliament. A man may vote according to 'his conſcience, let the conſequence be what it 'will; but no man can be ſaid to vote freely, 'when he knows that his ſubſiſtance, or a prin-'cipal part of his ſubſiſtance, depends upon his 'voting againſt his conſcience; therefore it is 'evident, that the exiſtence of our conſtitution 'is by this declaration rendered incompatible 'with the exiſtence of this man's miniſterial 'power; and, I hope, no Lord of this houſe 'will make the leaſt doubt, which of theſe two 'exiſtences ought to be put an end to.

'Before this declaration was made, my Lords, 'I ſuſpected that large ſums of the publick mo-'ney had been applied, by this miniſter, to-'wards gaining an undue and corrnpt influence 'both in Parliament and at elections; and, in-'deed, every man muſt have the ſame ſuſpicion, 'who conſiders what large ſums have been 'granted by Parliament for ſecret ſervice mo-

'ney,

'ney, and yet what aſtoniſhing ignorance our 'miniſters have upon ſeveral occaſions appeared 'to be in, with regard to the deſigns of foreign 'ſtates. The ſame ſuſpicion muſt likewiſe be 'entertained by every man who conſiders, what 'a vaſt civil liſt revenue his preſent Majeſty en-'joys, and yet with what parſimony it is ap-'plied to every known and every laudable pur-'poſe. But the miniſter's making this declara-'tion ſo openly, and in ſuch an aſſembly, has 'brought my ſuſpicion in this reſpect almoſt to 'a certainty. I can make no doubt, that a mi-'niſter capable of making ſuch a declaration, 'is capable of applying the publick money to 'ſuch ſecret and unlawful purpoſes; and I am 'convinced, he would not have ventured to 'have made ſuch a declaration, if he had not 'been well acquainted with the powerful effects 'of corruption.

'Now, my Lords, with regard to the ſuſpi-'cion of his having a deſign, by the continu-'ance and increaſe of uſeleſs offices, and the 'multiplicity of penal laws, to eſtabliſh in the 'crown, or rather the miniſters of the crown, 'an abſolute and uncontrolable power, I think, 'his deſign appears pretty plain from his own 'declaration; for a miniſter that declares, he 'will turn any officer out of the army that ſhall 'dare to vote againſt his meaſures in Parlia-'ment, will not ſcruple to turn any civil officer 'out of his employment, or to execute rigo-'rouſly a penal law againſt any man that ſhall 'vote either in Parliament, or at the elections, 'contrary to his orders; and when ſuch a mini-'ſter loads the nation with uſeleſs offices, or un-'neceſſary penal laws, we may eaſily ſee, that 'his deſign is to render his power uncontrolable, 'by rendering himſelf maſter of a majority of 'our elections; for tho' no miniſter can by any

'corrupt

'corrupt means ſecure a majority in this houſe, 'while it conſiſts of ſuch honourable members as 'it does at preſent, yet if a miniſter ſhould once 'be ſecure of having always a majority in the o-'ther houſe, your Lordſhips know, that by an 'incroachment which is now become a part of 'our conſtitution, a miniſter that has got the ſole 'guidance of his Sovereign, may ſecure to himſelf 'a majority in this houſe; and therefore, for the 'ſake of preſerving the dignity and the indepen-'dency of this houſe, we muſt take care to pre-'ſerve the dignity and the independency of the 'other.

'As for the poſts and offices in the abſolute 'diſpoſal of the crown, our preſent miniſter, my 'Lords, had no great occaſion to increaſe the 'number of them; for the debts contracted in the 'two late heavy wars, and the taxes impoſed for 'the payment of thoſe debts, with a little mini-'ſterial art, had created ſuch a multitude of new 'commiſſioners, collectors, ſuperviſors, accoun-'tants, comptrollers, exciſemen, cuſtom-houſe 'officers, and the like, that our preſent miniſter 'had no occaſion to increaſe their number. He 'had nothing to do but to turn them to that uſe 'which no former miniſter durſt venture to at-'tempt, I mean that of influencing elections; and 'yet a great number of clerks, and other inferior 'officers have been added, during his adminiſtra-'tion, to almoſt every board in the kingdom; 'and during a long peaceable adminiſtration, he 'has taken care not to reduce or pay off any con-'ſiderable part of our debts; becauſe if that had 'been done, ſome of our heavy taxes muſt have 'been aboliſhed, and this of courſe muſt have 'been attended with the diſbanding of thoſe offi-'cers that were employed in the collection and 'management of them. This, I am now con-'vinced, has been one of his chief views through

'the whole courſe of his adminiſtration; and this 'muſt now afford many of your Lordſhips good 'reaſon to condemn ſome of thoſe meaſures you 'were formerly induced to approve; for no man 'ought to think it beneath his dignity to change 'his opinion, either about men or meaſures, when 'the conſequences of the latter, or the future be-'haviour of the former, furniſh him with ſubſtan-'tial reaſons for ſuch a change.

'Then, my Lords, as to the penal laws that 'have been enacted, beſides thoſe that have been 'unſucceſsfully attempted, I believe no miniſter, 'antient or modern, can rival our preſent miniſter 'in this particular. The exciſe laws, which are 'the moſt proper for enlarging the power of a 'miniſter, becauſe the penalties may be exacted, 'modified, or forgiven, according to his pleaſure, 'have been multiplied and enlarged to a great 'degree; and if the exciſe ſcheme had met with 'ſucceſs, I will venture to ſay, that no man that 'dealt in tobacco, and conſequently no ſhop-'keeper in any country town or village in the 'kingdom, would have dared to give his vote at 'any election contrary to the orders of the mini-'ſter, ſignified to the poor ſhop-keeper by his ex-'ciſeman. To pretend that the clamours againſt 'this ſcheme were raiſed by ſmugglers and clan-'deſtine dealers, is ſomething very extraordinary. 'Does not the noble Duke remember, that peti-'tions came up againſt it from all the great trading 'towns in the kingdom; and that thoſe petitions 'were ſigned by the moſt eminent merchants in 'all ſorts of buſineſs? Does his Grace think, that 'there is not a fair trader in the kingdom, or that 'it is not the intereſt of the fair trader to prevent 'ſmuggling? My Lords, if that ſcheme had been 'contrived for nothing but to prevent ſmuggling, 'and had been thought effectual for that end, the 'very perſons that petitioned againſt it, would

'have

'have petitioned in its favour: Inſtead of lighting 'up bonfires at its being rejected, they would 'have been lighted up upon its being paſſed into 'a law; and inſtead of miniſters and members of 'Parliament, we ſhould have had thieves and 'ſmugglers burnt in effigy in all parts of the 'kingdom.

'But, my Lords, the trading part of the nation 'were not ſo blind, as to allow themſelves to be 'impoſed on by ſuch a thin cobweb. They per-'ceived the real deſign of that ſcheme, which 'was not to prevent ſmuggling, but to put it in 'the power of the miniſter to make a ſmuggler of 'the moſt innocent man in the kingdom, if he 'dared to diſobey his orders in Parliament or at 'elections; and whether this would not have af-'fected our liberties, I ſhall leave to your Lord-'ſhips to judge. But I muſt obſerve, that one 'of the conſequences of that ſcheme afforded us 'a moſt convincing proof, how ridiculous it is to 'attack the conduct of a miniſter, or even the 'conduct of his tools, whilſt he himſelf remains 'in the full poſſeſſion of his power. The fre-'quency of ſmuggling, the fraudulent practices 'of ſmugglers, and the defects in the laws againſt 'ſmuggling, was the chief argument made uſe of 'by the patron of that ſcheme and his friends, for 'inducing gentlemen to agree to it. On the other 'hand, the merchants and their friends alledged, 'that the frequency of ſmuggling was not owing 'to any defect in the laws, or in the preſent me-'thods of collecting the publick revenue, but to 'the frauds and neglects of the cuſtom-houſe offi-'cers, and the little care taken by thoſe that had 'the appointment and ſuperintendency of them. 'This the merchants inſiſted on, and ſaid they 'could prove before a fair and impartial tribunal. 'This brought on a motion in the other houſe, for 'appointing a ſecret and ſelect committee, to be

'choſen by ballot, for enquiring into the abuſes
'and frauds of the cuſtoms. As our miniſter, in
'his proper department, has the chief ſuperinten-
'dency of the treaſury, and conſequently of the
'cuſtoms, he could not well oppoſe this motion;
'but he had ſuch an amazing influence over that
'houſe of Commons, that, notwithſtanding the
'ballot, he got them to chuſe a committee con-
'ſiſting, I ſhall not ſay of the miniſter's moſt
'obſequious ſlaves, but I may ſay of his ſureſt
'friends: Nay, the very commiſſioners of the
'treaſury themſelves, all, I believe, but the mi-
'niſter, were choſen of that committee. That is
'to ſay, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and a
'few of their moſt intimate friends, were choſen
'by a houſe of Commons, to enquire into the
'conduct of the commiſſioners of the treaſury,
'with regard to the abuſes and frauds of the cuſ-
'toms. Was not this, my Lords, a moſt glaring
'inſtance of the dependency of a houſe of Com-
'mons upon a miniſter? Could the merchants ex-
'pect an impartial hearing from ſuch a committee?
'They never gave themſelves once the trouble of
'attending; and according to expectation, the
'enquiry ended in a juſtification of the commiſ-
'ſioners of the treaſury, and of their deputies the
'commiſſioners of the cuſtoms; but to the world
'could this be a juſtification or a vindication of the
'characters either of the principals or deputies?
'On the contrary, it confirmed the ſuſpicion of the
'miniſter's having an undue influence over that
'houſe of Commons, and with me is a moſt un-
'anſwerable argument for agreeing to this addreſs.
'My Lords, if upon ſuch a well-founded ſuſ-
'picion of a miniſter's having acquired to himſelf
'an undue influence in Parliament, and his decla-
'ring openly and expreſsly that he would make
'uſe of ſuch an influence, a Parliament ſhould re-
'fuſe addreſſing the King to remove him, what

'would

'would the people ſay of ſuch a refuſal? What 'could they expect from ſuch a Parliament? 'Would any man be ſo mad as to bring a direct 'accuſation againſt ſuch a miniſter before ſuch a 'Parliament? Could any man there expect to con-'vict ſuch a miniſter upon the moſt particular and 'the cleareſt proofs that were ever laid before any 'tribunal? The certain conſequence would be, a 'judicial and formal acquittal of the miniſter, let 'his crimes be never ſo heinous and manifeſt; 'and a ſevere parliamentary ſentence againſt the 'accuſer, let his proofs be never ſo clear and con-'nected. This will of courſe embolden not only 'our preſent miniſter but all future miniſters: 'The ſuſpicions of the people will daily increaſe: 'Their diſcontents may turn to diſaffection: Their 'deſpair of obtaining redreſs may drive them to 'ſeek for it by violent means; and the conſe-'quence of this, God alone can tell. Whereas 'your agreement to this addreſs can be attended 'with no bad conſequence, either to the kingdom, 'or to the miniſter if he be innocent; and if he 'be guilty, ſurely no one of your Lordſhips 'would deſire to have him continued in power.

'The arguments I have hitherto made uſe of, 'are all drawn from the ſuſpicions that lie againſt 'our preſent miniſter, with regard to domeſtick 'affairs; but, my Lords, with regard to foreign 'affairs, the ſuſpicions againſt him are of a more 'heinous nature, and, if poſſible, they now ſeem 'to be better founded than the other. Our mini-'ſter by his conduct in domeſtick affairs has ren-'dered himſelf ſuſpected, and I think I have 'ſhewn, juſtly ſuſpected, of ſacrificing the liberties 'and conſtitution of his country to his own power 'and grandeur, perhaps to his own ſafety; but 'by his conduct in foreign affairs, he has rendered 'himſelf ſuſpected of ſacrificing the honour, the 'trade, the navigation, nay the very being of his

'native country, to the intereſts and views of its 'moſt antient, its moſt conſtant, its moſt danger- 'ous enemy. This, my Lords, was ſo fully ex- 'plained by the noble Lord who introduced this 'debate, that I ſhall only touch upon ſome parti- 'cular circumſtances, by way of anſwer to what 'has been ſaid by the noble Duke. It is long, it 'is many years ſince ſome amongſt us ſuſpected, 'that our councils were too much under the in- 'fluence of *France*. Theſe ſuſpicions have every 'day gathered ſtrength and grown more and more 'general, till now at laſt they are, by the conſe- 'quences of our conduct, I think, abſolutely con- 'firmed. Will any one ſay, that the affairs of '*Europe* are now in a happy ſituation? Will any 'one ſay, that the balance of power in *Europe* is 'at preſent in no danger; or that the danger it 'is in can be eaſily removed? Will any one ſay, 'that this nation is in a happy ſtate, when we are 'in imminent danger of being obliged to ſacrifice 'our *American* trade to the wild pretenſions of '*Spain*, or, without one ally, to ſupport a war 'againſt the united power of *France* and *Spain*? 'This is the preſent ſituation of *Europe:* This is 'the preſent ſituation of this nation; and the no- 'ble Lord has ſhewn, that both are chiefly owing 'to our having kept up a friendſhip and corre- 'ſpondence with *France*, at the expence of our 'honour, at the expence of our trade, and at the 'expence of our moſt natural ally.

'The noble Duke was pleaſed to tell us, the 'miniſter had no ſhare in the council that adviſed 'the treaty of *Hanover*. If this be true, and I 'am convinced the noble Duke thinks ſo, it is 'one of the ſtrongeſt arguments for agreeing to 'this motion. That miniſter is now loaded with 'the whole blame of that treaty, and of all the 'fatal conſequences that enſued: He can no way 'remove this load, but by laying himſelf open to

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'a fair and impartial enquiry into his conduct, 'which never can be carried on, at leaſt the nation 'will not believe it can be carried on, as long as 'he has the diſtribution of all the favours and re- 'wards the crown can beſtow, and of all the pe- 'nalties and puniſhments the crown can inflict; 'therefore, if he had any true regard for his cha- 'racter, he would voluntarily lay himſelf open to 'ſuch an enquiry, if his friends have a ſincere re- 'gard for him, they will take the moſt gentle 'method for compelling him to do ſo, which is 'by agreeing to the addreſs propoſed. If they 'refuſe to do ſo, their affirming, that their friend 'had no ſhare in adviſing that treaty, or any o- 'ther fatal meaſure, will ſignify nothing; for 'whatever your Lordſhips may do, I am ſure the 'nation will not believe them.

'But, my Lords, with regard to this treaty of '*Hanover*, the miniſter and his friends have, it 'ſeems, two ſtrings to their bow: They firſt de- 'ny he had any hand in it; and next, they en- 'deavour to juſtify that treaty, and all the mea- 'ſures that were taken in purſuance of it. The 'account we had of a private treaty between the 'Emperor and *Spain* was certainly true: By that 'treaty the Emperor put a high affront upon this 'nation, and *Spain* was to bring the Pretender 'upon us, to deſtroy our trade, and to take *Gi- 'braltar* and *Port Mahon* from us: If we offered 'to reſent this affront againſt the Emperor, or to 'protect our trade and dominions againſt *Spain*, 'the Emperor was to attack *Hanover*: In this ſi- 'tuation we could have no recourſe, no refuge, 'but in an alliance with *France*. Theſe, my 'Lords, are the arguments made uſe of for juſti- 'fying the treaty of *Hanover*: But can any man 'be ſerious that now makes uſe of ſuch argu- 'ments? Without derogating in the leaſt from 'the reſpect due to his late Majeſty, for whoſe

'memory I have the greateſt regard, I will ven-
'ture to affirm, there was no ſuch private treaty
'between the Emperor and *Spain*. His late Ma-
'jeſty was impoſed on by his miniſters, and they
'were impoſed on, to ſay no worſe, by the mini-
'ſters of *France*. This might be the caſe, and
'by this his late Majeſty was induced to mention
'this treaty in his ſpeech to his Parliament: But
'the Emperor could not be impoſed on: If he
'had ſigned ſuch a treaty, he muſt have known
'it; and neither could nor would have denied it
'ſo expreſsly and ſolemnly as he did. This fact
'therefore being falſe, all the reaſoning founded
'upon it muſt fall to the ground. But, my Lords,
'ſuppoſe it were true: The affront was atoned
'for, by the Emperor's denying that treaty in the
'ſolemn manner he did; and we might have
'guarded againſt the danger without any alliance
'with *France*. Neither the trade nor the domi-
'nions of *Great Britain* could be in the leaſt
'danger from any attack *Spain* and the Emperor
'could make upon them; and the Emperor could
'not attack *Hanover* without breaking through
'the fundamental conſtitutions of the Empire,
'which would have brought all the Princes of the
'*Germanick* body to our aſſiſtance; and ſuch a
'confederacy would have been ſufficient for pro-
'tecting *Hanover* without the help of *France*;
'which, inſtead of courting, we ought to have
'refuſed, becauſe their intermeddling in the affairs
'of *Germany* will always be of dangerous conſe-
'quence to the balance of power in *Europe*.

'I am ſurprized, my Lords, to hear it now
'pretended, that the affair of *Thorn* had the leaſt
'ſhare in drawing us into the treaty of *Hanover*.
'That cruel affair was, indeed, made uſe of both
'by *France* and us, for drawing the King of *Pruſ-*
'*ſia* into the alliance; and accordingly there was a
'ſeparate article for obtaining reparation for what

'had

'had been done at *Thorn*, contrary to the treaty 'of *Oliva*; but the King of *Pruſſia* ſoon perceived, 'or imagined he perceived, that neither *France* 'nor we were ſincere in that article, therefore he 'deſerted the alliance, and it is certain, that no-'thing was ever done in purſuance of that article, 'becauſe the intereſt of *France* was no way con-'cerned in performing it. But where the intereſt 'of *France* was concerned, we did a great deal 'more than we were obliged to do by that treaty; 'and when *Spain* declared war againſt us on that 'account, we did not do ſo much as we ought to 'have done, becauſe it was not the intereſt of '*France* we ſhould.

'My Lords, it is ſo evident, that our miniſter 'has ſacrificed the ſafety of *Europe*, and the credit 'of his native country with every one of its an-'tient allies, to the friendſhip of *France*, that I 'ſhould be aſhamed to take up your time with 'anſwering or expoſing the poor excuſes that are 'made for his conduct. If by that means he had 'preſerved the tranquillity of his country uninter-'rupted, and made the proper uſe of that unin-'terrupted tranquillity: Or if he had obtained 'from *France* a ſettlement of the diſputes ſtill ſub-'ſiſting between the two nations, or any advan-'tages for our trade in that kingdom, it would 'have been ſome ſort of real excuſe for his con-'duct. But he has, at the deſire of *France*, in-'volved his country in continual broils either with '*Spain* or the Emperor, and from thence has 'taken occaſion to load it with ſuch an extraordi-'nary expence, either for giving weight to his 'fruitleſs negotiations, or enforcing the obſervance 'of his uſeleſs treaties, that we are now as much, 'if not more involved than we were at the end of 'the laſt heavy war; and during this whole time, 'what has been the behaviour of *France* towards 'us? They have been not only cramping our

'trade in their own dominions, but incroaching 'upon it in every other part of the world. This 'is not all, my Lords: It is highly probable, that 'they have been underhand encouraging *Spain* to 'interrupt our trade and navigation in the *Ameri-* 'can ſeas, and at the ſame time threatning us, 'that if we attempted to do ourſelves juſtice, they 'would join with *Spain* againſt us. When we 'reflect upon this, my Lords, it is not poſſible to 'account for the conduct of our miniſter from any 'motives founded upon the intereſt or proſperity 'of this kingdom. From hence has ariſen a ge- 'neral ſuſpicion, that from ſome private motives 'of his own he has ſacrificed the intereſts of his 'country, and the intereſts of *Europe*, to the cul- 'tivating of a dangerous friendſhip and correſpon- 'dence with *France*; and this ſuſpicion has great- 'ly increaſed ſince the commencement of the war 'with *Spain*.

'If we conſider the intereſt of *France*, and the 'intereſt of *Britain*, with regard to the diſputes 'between *Spain* and us, we ſhall find them directly 'oppoſite to each other; and if we examine the 'conduct of our miniſter, either in his negotiations 'for peace, or his proſecution of the war, we ſhall 'find that he has, without variation, purſued the 'intereſt of *France*, in oppoſition to that of *Great* 'Britain. When *Spain* firſt ſet up the pretence 'of ſearching our ſhips in the ſeas of *America*, 'and confiſcating them, if they found any of 'thoſe goods on board, which they were pleaſed 'to call contraband, it was eaſy to ſee, that till 'this pretence was expreſsly given up, we could 'enjoy no free trade or navigation in that part of 'the world, nor could there be any cordial friend- 'ſhip between *Spain* and us, which of courſe 'would be a great detriment to our trade, and 'conſequently a great advantage to the trade of 'France. It was, therefore, the intereſt of *France*

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'to have this diſpute remain unadjuſted as long as 'poſſible, it was the intereſt of *Britain* to have it 'adjuſted, either by fair or foul means, with the 'utmoſt diſpatch: Conſequently it was the intereſt 'of *France* to have the negotiations between *Spain* 'and us, about this point, protracted as long as 'poſſible; and it was our intereſt to ſtate plainly 'and clearly the point in queſtion, and to inſiſt 'upon a peremptory and ſpeedy anſwer. Accord-'ing to this ſtate of the caſe, I ſhall leave your 'Lordſhips to judge, whether our miniſter, in his 'negotiations for peace, purſued the intereſt of '*France*, or that of *Great Britain*. But I muſt 'obſerve, that upon this queſtion the nation, the 'world, has already paſt judgment; and if your 'Lordſhips judgment ſhould be different, I muſt 'beg of you to conſider, what the conſequence 'may be with regard to the character of this houſe.

'It is well known, my Lords, that it was not 'our miniſter that put an end to our negotiations: 'It is well known, that he was forced into the 'war. The ſpirit of the nation made it abſolutely 'inconſiſtent with his perſonal ſafety to treat any 'longer; and his Majeſty's natural genius concur-'ring with the ſpirit of the nation, the miniſter 'was obliged to give way to the torrent, and to 'ſeem at leaſt paſſive, by which means a war was 'at laſt reſolved on. Let us now ſee, what was 'the intereſt of *France*, and what was the intereſt 'of *Britain*, with regard to the proſecution of the 'war. It was the intereſt of *France* to have us 'proſecute the war in that manner which would 'make it moſt tedious, leaſt advantageous to this 'nation, and moſt burdenſome and deſtructive to 'our trade and navigation: It was the intereſt of '*Britain* to proſecute it in that manner which 'ſhould bring it to the ſpeedieſt concluſion, which 'might bring the greateſt advantage to this coun-'try, and which might be the leaſt burdenſome

'or deſtructive to our trade. To bring the war to 'a concluſion, and to reap ſome laſting advantage 'from it for the nation, it was incumbent upon us 'to prepare, as ſoon as it was reſolved on, for 'ſending a powerful fleet, with a ſufficient num-'ber of land forces on board, to *America*, in or-'der to make as many conqueſts there as poſſible; 'and to have ſent another fleet to the *Mediterra-'nean* and coaſts of *Spain*, with a number of land 'forces on board; not to make conqueſts, but to 'make incurſions, in order to have kept them in 'continual alarms, and to prevent their being able 'to ſend any reinforcements to their ſettlements in '*America*: And to make the war as little burden-'ſome or deſtructive to our trade as poſſible, we 'ought to have fitted out no more large ſhips 'than we had abſolute occaſion for; but as many 'ſmall ſhips and ſloops of war as poſſible, for 'protecting our trade by intercepting and deſtroy-'ing the enemy's privateers; and in order to 'draw away as few ſeamen as poſſible from the 'merchant ſervice, we ought to have begun with 'giving great encouragement for able-bodied land-'men to enter into his Majeſty's ſea ſervice, and 'to have accepted of all ſuch as offered to enter.

'Theſe, my Lords, were the methods by 'which we ought to have begun and proſecuted 'the war, if the intereſt of *Great Britain* had 'been conſidered or purſued; and if theſe me-'thods had been taken, the war might have 'been over before this time; for *Spain* would 'have found itſelf under a neceſſity of ſubmit-'ting to our terms. I need not explain to your 'Lordſhips what we have done, or have not 'done; for every man in *Britain* knows, that 'we began and proſecuted the war by methods 'directly contrary to theſe. Every one knows, 'that we have hitherto proſecuted the war in 'that manner which muſt make it tedious, in

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'that manner which can bring no advantage to 'this nation, and in that manner which has 'been vaſtly burdenſome and deſtructive both 'to our trade and navigation; and therefore, 'every one muſt conclude, that our miniſter 'has, in the proſecution of the war, as well as 'in the negotiations for peace, had a view to 'the intereſt of *France*, in oppoſition to that of 'his native country. When this is the conclu-'ſion made by moſt men in the kingdom, can 'we ſuppoſe that our people will pay their taxes 'with pleaſure, or that the war can redound to 'the honour or advantage of this kingdom, 'whilſt this miniſter has the direction of our af-'fairs? When the affairs of *Europe* are at ſuch 'a criſis, when the affairs of this nation are in 'ſuch a tickliſh ſituation, can any Lord in this 'houſe ſcruple addreſſing his Majeſty to remove 'a miniſter who has ſhewn by his conduct, both 'in peace and war, that he regards nothing but 'the intereſt and friendſhip of our greateſt ri-'val and moſt inveterate enemy? What may 'have been his motives for holding ſuch a con-'duct, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but if 'they proceed from nothing but weakneſs, it 'muſt be a weakneſs of a moſt extraordinary 'nature: Of ſuch a nature as muſt render him 'very unfit for having the chief direction of the 'affairs of ſuch a powerful nation at ſuch a cri-'tical conjuncture; and therefore, even ſuppoſe 'his whole miſconduct to proceed from weak-'neſs alone, it is a ſufficient reaſon for our ad-'dreſſing his Majeſty to remove him.

'But I'm afraid, my Lords, his miſconduct 'does not altogether proceed from weakneſs. 'He knows he is generally hated by the people 'of his own country: He knows he has been 'long hated by them: He knows, that nothing 'but the favour of the crown protects him a-

'gainſt

'gainſt their reſentment; and as that may fail 'him, or may be withdrawn, he is, perhaps, 'courting an aſylum amongſt the enemies of 'his country. If this be the caſe, how un-'happy will this nation be, in caſe your Lord-'ſhips ſhould refuſe agreeing to the addreſs pro-'poſed? The people will not think your refuſal 'proceeds from his innocence, or your approba-'tion of his conduct. However groundleſsly, 'they will think, your refuſal proceeds from 'that very crime of which he is ſo generally 'ſuſpected; and this will increaſe their hatred 'towards him, which muſt neceſſarily increaſe 'his attachment to the views, and his obedience 'to the orders of thoſe from whom he ex-'pects protection in caſe of diſtreſs. How fatal 'may the conſequence of this be to *Europe* at 'this critical conjuncture? What an irrecover-'able ruin may it bring upon this nation? I ſhall 'add no more, but beg, that upon this impor-'tant occaſion, your Lordſhips would have a 'due regard to the intereſt of *Europe* in general, 'to the intereſt of your native country in par-'ticular, to the ſafety of the King, the ſatis-'faction of the people, and to the honour and 'dignity of this auguſt aſſembly.'

The next ſpeaker in this debate was the Lord Chancellor, who ſpoke to this effect, *viz.*

'My Lords,

Lord Chancellor's ſpeech.

'In all conteſts of a political nature, we ought 'to diſtinguiſh between thoſe that proceed merely 'from a difference in opinion with regard to the 'publick good, and thoſe which proceed from 'private views and perſonal animoſities. In every 'country where men have leave to expreſs their 'ſentiments freely, there will be conteſts about 'every publick meaſure that can be propoſed or 'purſued,

'purſued, becauſe when there is no demonſtration, 'neither of one ſide nor the other, which is the 'caſe in all political diſputes, there will be a diffe-'rence of opinion. Even in the moſt arbitrary 'countries there muſt be a difference of opinion; 'but that difference cannot appear, or occaſion 'any conteſt, becauſe thoſe who happen to diſap-'prove of the publick meaſures, dare not expreſs, 'much leſs publiſh the reaſons for their diſappro-'bation. Therefore in every country where a free 'government is eſtabliſhed, every time muſt be a 'time of political altercation; but thoſe times only 'are to be called troubleſome and factious, when 'the political conteſts proceed from private views 'and perſonal animoſities; and if by this rule we 'examine the times when ſuch addreſſes as this 'now under our conſideration have been agreed to 'by either houſe of Parliament, I believe, we 'ſhall find cauſe to conclude, that moſt of them 'were troubleſome and factious times, and that 'thoſe troubles and factions did not ſo often ariſe 'from the extraordinary weakneſs or wickedneſs 'of the miniſters, as from the private views and 'perſonal animoſities of thoſe that oppoſed them.

'Miniſters, my Lords, are not infallible, no 'more than other men; and they are liable to the 'ſame paſſions and affections with the reſt of their 'ſpecies. As every man in the world would, I 'believe, deſire to have the affection and eſteem 'of his countrymen, rather than their hatred and 'contempt, therefore, both in charity and from 'the nature of mankind, we ought to ſuppoſe, 'that miniſters do the beſt they can for the pub-'lick good; but as they are human, they muſt be 'guilty of overſights, miſtakes, and failings, 'which will be overlook'd by every good ſubject, 'and when not very extraordinary, will be forgi-'ven by every man that is not their perſonal ene-'my, nor poſſeſſed with an immoderate ambition

'of

'of ſucceeding them in their places. For this 'reaſon no man ought ever to think, and much 'leſs ought either houſe of Parliament to think 'of coming to ſuch an extremity as to addreſs the 'King to remove any one of his miniſters, unleſs 'it appears, not only that he has a prevailing in-'fluence in his Majeſty's councils, but alſo that he 'has been guilty of ſome enormous crime, or of 'ſuch a ſeries of miſconduct as evidently ſhews 'him to be a very weak man. This, I ſay, ought 'to be our rule with regard to addreſſing our So-'vereign to diſmiſs any of his miniſters, and in 'this we ſhall be confirmed, if we conſider the 'many difficulties that miniſters have to encoun-'ter, and the many perſonal enmities they muſt 'neceſſarily incur.

'In this, as well as in all other countries, my 'Lords, the people expect to be protected in their 'legal rights and the free enjoyment of their pro-'perties: They expect to have juſtice diligently, 'faithfully, and impartially adminiſtred at home, 'and to be preſerved from invaſions, inroads, and 'piracies from abroad. This they expect from 'their miniſters and governors, but they have 'very ill will to contribute either the trouble or 'the expence, that is neceſſary for procuring them 'this protection; and for this reaſon, they are in 'all countries extremely apt to find fault with, 'and clamour againſt the conduct of their gover-'nors, which makes it but too eaſy to raiſe a ge-'neral complaint againſt the conduct of the beſt 'ſort of governors; and no governor or miniſter 'can ever want perſonal enemies, who will be 'ready upon all occaſions to criticiſe his conduct, 'to magnify and ſet in the moſt glaring light the 'little failings he may be guilty of, and to pro-'pagate murmurings and diſcontents among the 'people. For this purpoſe, we muſt allow, I ſay, 'that no miniſter can ever want perſonal enemies,

'eſpecially

'especially if we conſider the ſeveral ſelfiſh mo-
'tives men may have for becoming the profeſſed
'or the ſecret enemies of a miniſter. All men in
'ſuperior ſtations are, we know, expoſed to the
'envy of thoſe below them, and every man that
'is governed by this malevolent paſſion, muſt of
'courſe become the profeſſed or the ſecret enemy
'of a miniſter. Others again are entirely govern-
'ed by their ambition, and are very apt to become
'enemies to a miniſter, becauſe they ſuppoſe him
'to have been the cauſe of their not meeting with
'ſucceſs in ſome unreaſonable ſuit they made to
'their Sovereign. But of all the ſources of diſcon-
'tent and perſonal enmity againſt a miniſter, the
'greateſt is that which, in this debate, has been
'ſuppoſed to be his chief ſupport; I mean, my
'Lords, the diſpoſal of poſts and offices in our
'government; for there are always five or ſix,
'ſometimes a dozen of candidates, for almoſt eve-
'ry poſt or place any miniſter can have in his diſ-
'poſal: Of theſe, but one can have it; and if the
'diſappointed candidates are not men of great mo-
'deration, they of courſe become perſonal enemies
'to the miniſter, and are diligent in propagating
'every popular cry againſt him.

'Thus your Lordſhips may ſee, that no mini-
'ſter can ever be without a multitude of perſonal
'enemies, who upon all occaſions will be ready to
'propagate what the people are too apt to believe,
'that their buſineſs has been ill conducted, or
'that they have been put to a much greater ex-
'pence than was neceſſary; for in this caſe, mi-
'niſters or magiſtrates may be very properly com-
'pared to attorneys or ſollicitors in law affairs.
'Whilſt the law-ſuit goes on, and the attorney
'brings in no bill of fees and diſburſements, the
'client is perfectly ſatisfied with his conduct; but
'if the cauſe meets with any unexpected delay,
'or bad ſucceſs, though it be entirely owing to

'the nature of the caſe, the client then begins to 'exclaim againſt the conduct of his attorney; and 'even when the cauſe meets with the beſt ſucceſs, 'and is brought to a happy iſſue, yet the client 'generally finds fault with his attorney's bill, and 'ſeldom pays it without murmuring. The caſe 'is, in this country, the ſame between the people 'and the King's miniſters. If any national affair 'miſgives, or meets with any croſs accident, it is 'always, though often without reaſon, imputed 'to the ill conduct of the adminiſtration; and 'when the ſums neceſſary for the publick ſervice 'come to be provided for and paid, the people 'are always apt to complain. Theſe complaints 'miniſters have at all times been expoſed to, and 'our preſent miniſters are more expoſed to ſuch 'complaints than any of their predeceſſors; be-'cauſe the people of this nation are now burdened 'with many taxes, for the payment of debts our 'preſent miniſters never incurred, which of courſe 'makes the people the more unwilling to comply 'with thoſe payments that are abſolutely neceſſary 'for the current ſervice.

'My Lords, it is eaſy to ſay, that a great part 'of our debts might have been paid off, but I 'defy any man to ſhew me how any greater part 'of them might have been paid off, than has 'actually been, without laying new or heavier 'taxes upon the people; becauſe the free revenue, 'or that part of the publick revenue which is not 'mortgaged to the civil liſt or for the payment of 'old debts, is not ſufficient for anſwering the an-'nual expence; and therefore it has been neceſſa-'ry, almoſt every year, to apply ſome part or 'the whole of the ſinking fund for the current 'ſervice; which the Parliament had a right to do, 'and which the Parliament has always, when 'neceſſary, thought more proper to be done, than 'to load the people with any new or additional

'tax;

'tax; and no publick expence has been incurred, 'but what was at the time thought neceſſary for 'the publick ſafety. If armies have been kept 'up or augmented: If ſquadrons have been fitted 'out, or foreign troops taken or kept in pay, it 'was, in my opinion, neceſſary, according to the 'circumſtances the nation was then in, and I have 'always had the good luck to ſee my opinion 'confirmed by the majority of both houſes of 'Parliament. If our armies had not been kept up 'and augmented, or if ſquadrons had not been 'fitted out, as often as occaſion required, I am 'convinced we ſhould have been invaded, or 'ſome of our allies ſwallowed up, and the balance 'of power quite overturned, long before this 'time; but all ſuch attempts have been prevented 'by the expence we have occaſionally put our-'ſelves to; and the good effect of that expence is 'now, by a very prepoſterous way of arguing, 'made a pretence for ſaying the expence was un-'neceſſary, becauſe we were in no danger, though 'the danger was fully made appear to Parliament 'at the time the expence was incurred, and will 'ſtill appear to every man who conſiders the cir-'cumſtances of the affairs of *Europe* at the reſpec-'tive times we put ourſelves to any extraordinary 'charge.

'As the danger this nation was in of an imme-'diate attack, in purſuance of the treaty of *Vien-'na* between the Emperor and *Spain*, has been 'fully ſpoke to by other Lords, in this debate, 'and, I think, made evident, if any reliance is to 'be had upon what his late Majeſty ſo ſolemnly 'declared to his Parliament, I ſhall wave giving 'your Lordſhips any farther trouble upon that 'head. But will any Lord ſay, the *Dutch* were 'in no danger? Will any Lord ſay, the *French* 'were in no danger of an immediate attack from 'the conſequences of that treaty? My Lords, we

'know there was a conteſt then ſubſiſting, and 'ready to break out into a flame, between the 'Emperor and the *Dutch*, in relation to the *Oſtend* '*Eaſt-India* company: We likewiſe know, that 'by an expreſs article in that treaty, the King of '*Spain* promiſed, that if the ſhips of the ſubjects 'of his Imperial Majeſty ſhould be attack'd, on 'either ſide of the Line, he would make it a 'common cauſe with his Imperial Majeſty to re-'venge and redreſs the injuries and damages ſuſ-'tained. And alſo we know, that the *Dutch* were 'reſolved to attack and ſeize, as they had a right 'to do, any of the *Oſtend* ſhips they found tra-'ding in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which if they had done, 'it is not to be queſtioned, but that war would 'have been immediately declared againſt them by 'the Emperor, and in purſuance of this article, 'the Emperor would have been aſſiſted by *Spain*. 'Could we, my Lords, ſit ſtill and ſee the *Dutch* 'over-run by the Emperor and *Spain*? If we had 'done ſo, it would have drove the *Dutch* into the 'arms of *France*; and if we had no way inter-'meddled, the conſequence of this war might 'have been fatal to the balance of power in *Eu-'rope*.

'From hence, my Lords, I think it is evident, 'that the *Dutch* were in danger of an immediate 'attack from the conſequences of this treaty. 'But ſuppoſe they had been in no danger: Sup-'poſe *France* only had been in danger of an im-'mediate attack, even that attack might have 'neceſſarily involved this nation in a war, and, 'probably, would have done ſo, in order to pre-'ſerve the balance of power, which might have 'been overturned by the too great ſucceſs of ei-'ther party engaged in that war, and eſpecially if 'the ſucceſs had happened to be on the ſide of '*France*. If this had been the caſe, *France* would, 'probably, have attacked *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*;

'and

'and thoſe amongſt us, who are now ſo poſitive 'that *France* ought not to interpoſe, in order to 'prevent our making conqueſts upon *Spain* in the '*Weſt-Indies*, would then, I believe, have been 'very apt to find fault with our miniſters, if they 'had quietly allowed the *French* to take poſſeſſion 'of any part of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*.

'It is therefore certain, that we muſt have been 'involved in any war that could break out in con-'ſequence of this treaty at *Vienna*; and, I think, 'it is as certain, that either this nation, *France*, 'or *Holland*, would have been attacked in purſu-'ance of this treaty, if it had not been for the 'treaty of *Hanover*, and the meaſures we after-'wards took, for preventing the return of the '*Spaniſh* galleons. Conſequently no fault can be 'found with any expence we put ourſelves to in 'purſuance of that treaty, becauſe it preſerved the 'tranquillity of *Europe*, and thereby prevented 'our being obliged to put ourſelves to a much 'greater expence. By the treaty of *Hanover*, the 'Emperor found himſelf under a neceſſity of giv-'ing up the *Oſtend* company, and the court of '*Spain* were obliged to give up all their views of 'reſentment againſt this nation, as well as againſt 'the court of *France*; and when this was done, 'it was the intereſt of this nation to re-eſtabliſh a 'good underſtanding with *Spain*, as ſoon as poſſi-'ble; and for that purpoſe, to refrain from thoſe 'acts of hoſtility which we might have commit-'ted, and had a right to commit, upon their be-'ginning hoſtilities againſt us. For this reaſon, 'and becauſe we knew it was not in their power 'to do us any conſiderable injury, I muſt ſtill 'think, it was prudent in us to deſpiſe their re-'ſentment by not returning the hoſtilities they 'committed; for by this means we reſtored peace 'between the two nations much ſooner than we

'could otherwiſe have done, and obtained all we 'could deſire by the treaty of *Seville*.

'I am really ſurprized, my Lords, to hear ſo 'much fault found with the treaty of *Seville*: 'It has once already had the approbation of 'Parliament, and it deſerved that approbation; 'for we had at that time nothing to aſk from '*Spain* but a renewal and confirmation of former 'treaties, and reparation for the merchant ſhips of 'this nation they had unjuſtly ſeized and confiſ-'cated; and both theſe we obtained ſtipulations 'for in as explicit terms as could be made uſe of; 'ſo that if the *Spaniards* have continued their de-'predations, and if our merchants have met with 'no reparation, it is not owing to that treaty, but 'to a breach of faith in the *Spaniſh* court, which 'could not be foreſeen nor guarded againſt by 'any treaty, or by any method I can think of, 'but that of never being at peace or in friendſhip 'with ſuch a faithleſs nation; and this, I am ſure, 'no man would adviſe, that underſtands and has 'a regard for the trade of this kingdom.

'As to the introduction of ſix thouſand *Spaniſh* 'troops, inſtead of neutral, into the ſtrong places 'of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, a noble Duke 'has already rightly obſerved, that the difference 'was of no real ſignification to the Emperor, nor 'could it give the leaſt encouragement for *Spain* 'to attack him in *Italy*. It was not the introduc-'tion of thoſe troops that occaſioned the war in '1733: It was the court of *Vienna*'s having given 'offence to the court of *France*, by interfering ſo 'much as they did in the election of a King of '*Poland*, that gave occaſion to that war, and en-'couraged the *Spaniards* to attack the Emperor in '*Italy*; for as the Emperor had himſelf given riſe 'to that war, the *Spaniards* knew, that the mari-'time powers did not think themſelves obliged to 'aſſiſt him, and from thence they found they

'might

'might ſend what troops they pleaſed to *Italy*. 'In this war, my Lords, it is very certain, the '*Dutch* did not think themſelves oblig'd to have 'any concern, though they had guaranteed the 'Pragmatick Sanction as well as we, and if we 'had thought otherwiſe, it would have been very 'imprudent in us to engage in that war without 'the *Dutch*. But though it was neither prudent 'nor neceſſary for us to engage immediately in 'that war, yet both the *Dutch* and we foreſaw 'that it might become neceſſary, in order to pre-'ſerve the balance of power in *Europe*; and there-'fore it was neceſſary for both of us to provide 'for the worſt, by making ſuch preparations as 'might enable us to engage with vigour, as ſoon 'as either of the parties began to puſh their ſucceſs 'farther than was conſiſtent with that balance, 'which juſtifies the expence we put ourſelves to 'upon that occaſion; and accordingly the prepa-'rations we made at that time had their deſired 'effect, by making *France* and its allies confine 'their views within thoſe bounds, and put a ſtop 'to the progreſs of their arms in the midſt of 'victory, and when it was not in the power of 'the Emperor to prevent their puſhing their con-'queſts as far as they had a mind.

'And with regard to our diſputes with *Spain*, 'it is very well known, my Lords, that they 'could not at that time afford us any pretence for 'engaging in the war. The *Spaniards* had given 'us no new cauſe of complaint: On the contrary, 'the King of *Spain* had but the year before ſent 'expreſs orders to his governors in *America* not to 'moleſt any *Engliſh* ſhip in thoſe ſeas, that did 'not appear to be concerned in any illicit trade; 'and as to paſt injuries, our commiſſaries were 'then in *Spain*, and we had reaſon to hope for a 'full reparation as ſoon as the account could be 'adjuſted, which from the very nature of the caſe

'could not be done in a ſhort time, becauſe it depended upon thoſe proofs and vouchers which 'were to be tranſmitted from *America* to *Europe*, 'and when any of thoſe proofs or vouchers wanted an explanation, it became neceſſary to ſend 'back to *America* for it, and to wait the return 'before any thing could be determined. This 'plainly ſhews the reaſon why our negotiations 'with *Spain* were ſo tedious, and why it took up 'ſuch a long time before we could be aſſured, 'whether that court would, or would not do us 'juſtice by fair means.

'Thus, I think, it appears, my Lords, from 'the whole tenor of our late conduct, that our 'miniſters have at no time put the nation to any 'expence but what was neceſſary from the circumſtances the affairs of *Europe* were then in; and 'that the only fault they have been guilty of, has 'been, their preſerving the nation in a continued 'ſtate of peace and tranquillity, without ſuffering 'any material alteration to be made in the political 'ſyſtem of affairs in *Europe*; for as the Emperor, 'or at leaſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, got *Tuſcany*, '*Parma*, and *Placentia* in lieu of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and as *France* had before the command, and 'even the poſſeſſion, of the duchy of *Lorain* 'whenever they pleaſed, I muſt inſiſt upon it, 'that the houſe of *Auſtria* was as powerful, and '*France* no more powerful at the time of the late 'Emperor's death, as at any time for twenty 'years paſt. The Emperor's unexpected death, 'and the diſputes that have ariſen, and are like to 'ariſe among the Princes of the Empire upon that 'fatal emergency, has, 'tis true, made a great alteration in the affairs of *Europe*; but this will 'not, I hope, be imputed to the weakneſs or 'wickedneſs of our miniſters, or to any improper 'complaiſance they have ſhewn for the court of '*France*.

'From

'From the conduct of our foreign affairs, there-
'fore, no man can have reaſon to ſuſpect our mi-
'niſters of having deſigns inconſiſtent with the
'intereſt or welfare of their country; and as no
'unneceſſary or oppreſſive laws have been paſs'd,
'nor any one inſtance of a law's being wreſted
'towards the oppreſſion of their enemies, not-
'withſtanding the many unprecedented provoca-
'tions they have met with, no man can have the
'leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect their having deſigns againſt
'the liberties of the people; nor can I, my Lords,
'believe, that ſuch ſuſpicions as the noble Duke
'was pleaſed to mention, are entertained by any
'great number of men in the kingdom. As by
'my office I am obliged to converſe with numbers
'of men who have no dependence upon the court,
'if there were ſuch general ſuſpicions, I ſhould
'think, I muſt have heard of them; and yet I
'can freely declare, I never heard any one ſignify
'his having ſuch ſuſpicions, either againſt the
'miniſter whoſe conduct is now under our conſi-
'deration, or againſt any one other of his Ma-
'jeſty's ſervants. But ſuppoſe there were ſuch
'ſuſpicions: Suppoſe they were as general as has
'been repreſented; I have ſhewn very good rea-
'ſons why they ſhould not be of ſuch weight as
'to prevail with us to fix an indelible mark of in-
'famy upon a miniſter's character, by addreſſing
'his Majeſty to remove him from his councils and
'preſence for ever. I have ſhewn how apt the
'people are to find fault with the conduct of mi-
'niſters, and how ready to believe every ſtory
'publiſhed againſt them: I have ſhewn, what a
'number of perſonal enemies every miniſter muſt
'neceſſarily have, and how induſtrious they will
'be to propagate falſe rumours, and inflame the
'jealouſy of the people. By the induſtry of a
'miniſter's perſonal enemies, eſpecially in this
'country, where every man may not only ſay,

'but print and publiſh almoſt whatever he pleaſes, 'and by the willing credulity of the people in 'ſuch caſes, ſuſpicions may be raiſed and propa- 'gated ſo as to become general, without the leaſt 'foundation; and therefore, thoſe general rumours 'or ſuſpicions can never be a proper or juſt foun- 'dation for any reſolution in Parliament, and 'much leſs for a reſolution that makes a man ap- 'pear upon record as a weak or wicked miniſter.

'Whatever the ſuſpicions of the people may be, 'my Lords, the Parliament ſhould have a very 'ſolid foundation before they expreſs their ſuſpi- 'cions by ſuch a ſtanding reſolution; and there- 'fore, I hope your Lordſhips will give me leave 'to ſhew, that there is not the leaſt foundation for 'any of the ſuſpicions that have been mentioned. 'To imagine or ſuppoſe, that any one miniſter 'ſolely ingroſſes the ear of his Sovereign, and 'uſurps the ſole diſpoſal of all the favours of the 'crown, is, I am ſure, no compliment to the King 'upon the throne, and it is a ſuppoſition that can 'be made by no man, who has the honour of 'knowing any thing of his preſent Majeſty's cha- 'racter. His ears, my Lords, it is well known, 'are open not only to all his miniſters, but to all 'his ſubjects. He is as ready to hear their com- 'plaints, as he is willing to redreſs their grievan- 'ces; and never does beſtow any favour without 'examining, as far as his high ſtation will give him 'leave, into the character of the perſon recom- 'mended. The miniſter whoſe conduct and cha- 'racter is now under our conſideration, has cer- 'tainly a great ſhare of his Majeſty's confidence; 'but this does not proceed from any blind attach- 'ment to him, but from the experience his Ma- 'jeſty has had of his fidelity and wiſdom; and to 'thoſe who have the honour to be near his Ma- 'jeſty's perſon, or in his councils, it is very well 'known, that this miniſter's recommendation does

'no

'not always ſucceed, nor does his opinion always 'prevail in council; for a candidate has often 'been preferred in oppoſition to the candidate 'recommended by him, and many things have 'been reſolved on in council contrary to his ſen-'timents and advice. Nay, this the noble Lords 'who ſupport this motion ſeem to acknowledge, 'when they ſay, that the preſent war was reſol-'ved on contrary to his advice; and therefore, I 'am ſurpriſed, they ſhould charge him with be-'ing the ſole author of every ſtept of our con-'duct for ſo many years paſt.

'For this reaſon, the honourable gentleman 'aimed at by this motion, can no way be 'charged with having ſolely ingroſſed the ear 'of his Sovereign, nor can his preſent Majeſty's 'known character admit of ſuch a charge 'againſt any man in the kingdom; and as to 'the poſts, offices, and other favours in the 'diſpoſal of the crown, it is very well known, 'that he never attempts to recommend any per-'ſon directly to his Majeſty, but ſuch as are 'ſolliciting for ſomething belonging particularly 'to his own department. Indeed, as there is 'and ought, and always will be, under a wiſe 'King, a very good correſpondence between his 'Majeſty's miniſters, they often recommend to 'one another; and when a gentleman of the 'army, navy, or any other ſort of buſineſs, 'thinks he has a title to the favour of this mi-'niſter, he may, perhaps, apply to him for his 'recommendation, not to the crown, but to the 'miniſter or great officer whoſe buſineſs and 'duty it is to recommend to his Majeſty the 'moſt fit and proper perſon for the office or 'employment then to be diſpoſed of. Thus, 'my Lords, we may ſee, that this miniſter's 'levee may be crouded with ſuitors of all ſorts 'of characters, without his uſurping the diſpo-

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'ſal of any of the favours of the crown, except 'ſuch as particularly belong to his own pro-'vince.

'I ſhall grant, my Lords, it is in the general 'a right maxim for the King not to take notice 'of, or have any regard to a gentleman's beha-'viour in Parliament, with reſpect to the diſtri-'bution of thoſe favours, which the crown has 'to beſtow. But even this maxim may admit 'ſome exceptions. We know there is in the 'kingdom a party of profeſſed Jacobites; we 'know there is likewiſe a party of profeſſed Re-'publicans. I do not ſay there are any of ei-'ther of theſe parties now in Parliament; but 'if they ſhould get into Parliament, if they 'ſhould there purſue Jacobite or Republican 'ſchemes, and if any of the officers of the ar-'my, or any civil officer ſhould, by his beha-'viour in Parliament, countenance and ſupport 'ſuch ſchemes, I believe it will not be ſaid, 'that the King ought not to take notice of ſuch 'behaviour in Parliament: I believe it will not 'be ſaid, that it would be any incroachment 'upon our conſtitution, ſhould he turn ſuch offi-'cers out of his ſervice on account of that behavi-'our.

'This, I ſay, my Lords, will, I believe, be 'allowed to be an exception from the general 'rule; but I am far from applying this to any 'caſe that has lately happenned; nor do I think, 'that his preſent Majeſty ever diſmiſſed any one 'from his ſervice, on account of his behaviour 'in Parliament; for his Majeſty may have ma-'ny reaſons for diſmiſſing an officer, either ci-'vil or military, which no way relate to his be-'haviour in Parliament; and if any officer hap-'pens to have a ſeat in Parliament, I hope it 'will not be ſaid, that his Majeſty muſt not, 'for that reaſon, diſmiſs him on account of a

'miſbe-

'misbehaviour he may be guilty of in some other 'respect. But whatever reasons his Majesty may 'at any time have to make use of that prerogative, which gives him a power to dismiss an officer from his service, I am convinced he will not, 'nor will he allow any minister to advise him to 'make use of this prerogative, for preventing a 'member's declaring his sentiments freely about 'any measure of government, provided he does 'it with that decency which is due to the crown, 'and without any factious or seditious manner of 'expressing himself upon the subject under debate.

'As to the declaration said to have been made 'in the other house by the minister, whose conduct is now proposed to be stigmatized by a resolution of this, your Lordships know it is not 'regular in us to take notice of any thing said or 'done in the other house. Words are apt to be misunderstood, and are seldom faithfully repeated; therefore I cannot easily believe, that this 'minister expressed himself exactly in the terms 'represented. If he had, I am convinc'd they 'would have been taken notice of in a proper 'way, by some of the members of the other 'house; and we should then, probably, have 'heard of them in a proper manner. For this 'reason, I say, my Lords, I cannot easily believe, 'that the honourable gentleman whose character 'is now in question, made such a declaration as 'has been mentioned to us in this debate, but am 'fully convinced, that what he said upon that 'occasion has been misrepresented to the noble 'Duke, who has made use of it as an argument 'for our agreeing to this motion. However, 'suppose he had made use of these very words 'which have been repeated to us, I should not 'think it consistent with the known justice and 'impartiality of this house, to pass such a severe 'sentence upon him as is now proposed, without

'first

'firſt hearing him in his own defence, and allowing him an opportunity to explain himſelf; and 'I am the rather of this opinion, becauſe I think 'the words, even as they have been repeated to 'us, may admit of ſuch an explanation as will 'make them both harmleſs and innocent.

'Laſtly, my Lords, as to the ſuſpicion of corruption both at elections and in Parliament, it is 'a clamour that has generally prevailed againſt all 'miniſters, and always will prevail, as long as 'there is a good correſpondence between his Majeſty and his Parliament. There will always be 'a diverſity of opinions about every thing almoſt, 'that comes before Parliament, and thoſe who 'really differ in opinion from his Majeſty's miniſters and the majority of Parliament, will be 'ready to impute the prevalence of the contrary 'opinion to any thing rather than true reaſon and 'ſound argument. This is an error which every 'man's perſonal vanity prompts him to indulge, 'and as no cauſe for the prevalence of the contrary opinion is ſo obvious as corruption, therefore it is generally aſſigned as the cauſe of the 'majority's agreeing with the adminiſtration; and 'this opinion is always moſt induſtriouſly propagated by thoſe who oppoſe the adminiſtration, 'not becauſe they differ in opinion from the 'King's miniſters, but becauſe they have a perſonal reſentment againſt ſome of them, or are ambitious of getting into their places, though very 'probably incapable of governing ſo well. There 'is, therefore, no poſſibility of removing this general clamour againſt corruption, but by interrupting that good correſpondence which now ſo 'happily ſubſiſts between his Majeſty and his Parliament; and this might very probably be the 'effect of the preſent motion's being agreed to, 'which leads me to conſider the dangerous conſequence of our agreeing to the addreſs propoſed.

'Suppoſe,

'Suppoſe, my Lords, we ſhould preſent to his 'Majeſty ſuch an addreſs as is now propoſed: 'Suppoſe both houſes of Parliament ſhould concur 'in that addreſs: It has not yet, I think, been 'ſaid in this debate, that his Majeſty is by any 'thing in our conſtitution obliged to comply with 'it. His compliance muſt therefore depend upon 'his being of opinion, that the addreſs was well 'founded, and that therefore it would be right in 'him to comply with it; for if his Majeſty ſhould 'think the addreſs ill founded, and that it would 'be wrong in him to do ſuch an injury to a good 'ſervant, as to remove him from his councils and 'preſence for ever, could it be conſiſtent with his 'Majeſty's honour or juſtice to comply with the 'addreſs of his Parliament? We may from hence 'ſee, that our preſenting ſuch an addreſs as is now 'propoſed, would probably end in a breach, per-'haps an irreparable breach, between his Majeſty 'and his Parliament; and the conſequence of this, 'eſpecially in our preſent ſituation, I tremble to 'think of. From his Majeſty's known juſtice 'and honour we muſt conclude, that his Majeſty 'would certainly refuſe to comply, if he thought 'a compliance inconſiſtent with either. This 'would of courſe raiſe an animoſity in both houſes 'of Parliament againſt the adminiſtration, which 'would make them refuſe to grant thoſe ſupplies, 'or concur with the adminiſtration in thoſe mea-'ſures that are neceſſary for the ſupport of our 'government; and this would neceſſarily occaſion 'a total diſſolution of our preſent happy conſtitu-'tion. Therefore, my Lords, I muſt conclude, 'that no Lord who has a true regard for the ſuc-'ceſs of the preſent war, for the glory of the 'King, the ſafety of the kingdom, or the preſer-'vation of our happy conſtitution, will agree to 'this motion, unleſs he ſees more cogent proofs 'of

'of mal-adminiſtration, than, I think, have yet 'been offered in this debate.'

The Lord *Bathurſt* ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

Lord *Bathurſt*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that moſt of 'the addreſſes of this kind have proceeded from 'private views and perſonal animoſities; and it 'adds greatly to my amazement, when I hear 'ſuch a doctrine advanced by a noble Lord, 'whoſe candour I have a great opinion of, and 'whoſe knowledge in our hiſtories, and in our 'journals in Parliament, is not in the leaſt to be 'queſtioned. From the little knowledge I have 'in this way, I think it is evident, that no parlia-'mentary attack upon a miniſter ever proceeded 'from private views or perſonal animoſities, but 'when the attack was patronized by a court fac-'tion, ſupported by a pack'd or a penſionary Par-'liament. In the reign of *Richard* the IId. the 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earls of *A-'rundel* and *Warwick* were proſecuted, and moſt 'unjuſtly condemned in Parliament; but every 'one knows, it was by a Parliament moſt illegally 'pack'd by a court faction for that very purpoſe: 'And in the reign of *Charles* the IId. the Earl 'of *Clarendon* was proſecuted in Parliament, and 'moſt unjuſtly baniſhed by act of Parliament; 'but it is well known, that the proſecution was 'ſpirited up againſt him by a court faction, and 'the Parliament that baniſhed him has, ever ſince 'its diſſolution, been branded with the ſcandalous 'epithet of a penſionary Parliament. In ſeveral 'other reigns, we may find injuſtice done by Par-'liaments under the influence, and by the contri-'vance of the miniſters of the crown; but from 'the beginning of our hiſtory to this very day, I 'believe, we can find no one example of a mini-

'ſter's

'ſter's having had injuſtice done him by Parliament, as long as he remained in the favour, and under the protection of the crown. Even in King *Charles* the IIſt's time, if the Parliament took ſome extraordinary ſteps, not altogether agreeable to our conſtitution, it was occaſioned by the crimes and miſdemeanours of the miniſters, and by the extraordinary methods they took for ſcreening themſelves againſt the laws of their country. Therefore, from experience we have no reaſon to be cautious of addreſſing for the removal of a miniſter, but have great reaſon to guard againſt a miniſter's power growing to that exceſſive height, as to render it impoſſible to remove or puniſh him by the ordinary methods preſcribed by our conſtitution; and this will be the caſe, if ever a miniſter ſhould be able, by thoſe corrupt and illegal means, which the favour of the crown may now furniſh him with, to command a majority in both houſes of Parliament.

'That miniſters are not infallible, that they are liable to the ſame paſſions and affections with other men, is what I ſhall moſt readily admit. But, my Lords, there is a very great difference between a miniſter's being fallible, and his being never in the right: There is a very great difference between a miniſter's being ſubject to the little frailties incident to human nature, and his teſtifying, through the whole tenor of his conduct, a ſettled deſign to render his power incontrolable by the laws and conſtitution of his country. That this is the caſe, with regard to the miniſter whoſe conduct is now under our conſideration, is, I am ſure, ſuſpected by a great part of the nation, and muſt, I think, appear evident to every one that ſeriouſly and impartially conſiders the hiſtory of his adminiſtration. In all the extraordinary events that have happened ſince

'his acceſſion to power, he has taken that part 'which was moſt inconſiſtent with the true intereſt 'of his country: He has oppoſed or diſconcerted 'every ſcheme that has been offered for the real 'good of his country; and all the projects that 'he has either offered or patronized, have been 'ſuch as tended to increaſe the power of the 'crown, by adding to its unaccounted-for revenue, 'or multiplying the poſts in its arbitrary diſpoſal, 'and thereby giving its miniſters the means of 'acquiring a corrupt influence, both in Parliament 'and at elections.

'I am far from ſaying, that this proceeds from 'his weakneſs. No, my Lords, it proceeds, I 'believe, from a well-concerted, but wicked 'ſcheme, for putting it in the power of miniſters 'to make themſelves maſters of our conſtitution, 'by having always a majority in Parliament at-'tached to their particular intereſt, and ready to 'obey their commands. It is this that has made 'him in all foreign affairs take that part, which 'was inconſiſtent with the true intereſt of his 'country: It is this that has made him oppoſe 'every feaſible ſcheme for paying off our debts, 'aboliſhing our taxes, or reducing the number of 'our officers and placemen; and it is this that has 'made him project and patronize ſo many ſchemes 'for increaſing the power of the crown by adding 'to its revenue, and by multiplying revenue offi-'cers, and exciſe and penal laws. My Lords, his 'deſign to overturn the liberties of his country is, 'I think, evident from the foreign meaſures he 'has purſued. Let us examine our hiſtories, and 'we ſhall find it to have been an eſtabliſhed max-'im with every miniſter, who deſigned the over-'throw of our conſtitution, That a firm friendſhip 'and intimate correſpondence was to be preſerved 'with the court of *France*; and the maxim is, 'indeed, moſt reaſonable and neceſſary for ſuc-

'ceeding

'ceeding in ſuch a deſign; for it would be impoſ-
'ſible to ſucceed, if the court of *France* ſhould
'eſpouſe and aſſiſt the party that would of courſe
'be formed in this kingdom againſt ſuch an ad-
'miniſtration. For the proof of what I ſay, I
'need go no farther back than the reigns of
'*Charles* and *James* the IId. In both theſe reigns
'the intereſt of this nation, and the preſervation
'of a balance of power in *Europe*, were ſacrificed
'to the cultivating of a precarious, a ruinous
'friendſhip with *France*; and this we know pro-
'ceeded from the miniſters in both thoſe reigns
'having a deſign againſt the liberties of their
'country.

'The deſigns they had, my Lords, are now
'well known: The deſigns of our preſent mini-
'ſter are not as yet publickly known; they cannot
'be proved, whilſt he continues in power; but as
'his conduct from the very beginning of his ad-
'miniſtration has, with regard to *France*, been the
'ſame, we ought to ſuppoſe that his deſigns are
'of the ſame nature; and we ought to be the
'more jealous of them, becauſe the crown has
'now a great deal of more money, and a much
'greater number of poſts and offices to beſtow;
'and I am afraid the virtue of the people is not ſo
'impregnable as it was at that time; for corrup-
'tion, by long impunity, and by the multitude
'of the guilty, is now, I fear, ſo far from being
'ſcandalous, that it is become faſhionable.

'Conſidering what has been already ſaid by the
'two noble Lords that have ſpoke upon the ſame
'ſide with me, I need not enter into a detail of
'our foreign meaſures, in order to ſhew, how
'much they have all been calculated for the inter-
'eſt of *France*, and how often, or how long the
'intereſt of this nation, and the ſafety of *Europe*,
'have been ſacrificed to the views of the *French*
'court. This has been already ſo fully and ſo

'clearly explained, that thoſe who are not already 'convinced, will not, I am ſure, be convinced by 'any thing I can add upon that ſubject. But as 'our guarantying the Pragmatick Sanction in '1731, may ſeem to be a ſort of deviation in our 'miniſter, I ſhall beg leave to make ſome obſer-'vations upon that treaty. I have no occaſion, 'my Lords, to explain the unlucky circumſtances 'our miniſter had reduced us to by that ridiculous 'article in the *Seville* treaty, relating to the intro-'duction of *Spaniſh* troops into *Italy*. This intro-'duction we had obliged ourſelves to effectuate 'without loſs of time; and this obligation we 'could not perform but by one of theſe two me-'thods: Either by joining with *France* and *Spain* 'in a war againſt the Emperor, or by making 'ſuch conceſſions to the Emperor, as might in-'duce him not to oppoſe that introduction. Our 'miniſter had not then made himſelf ſo much 'maſter of our Parliaments or elections, as that 'he could expect to get a Parliament of *Great* 'Britain, to approve of his joining with *France* 'and *Spain* in a war againſt the Emperor, nor 'were our armies become ſo mercenary as to ſup-'port him againſt the Parliament; therefore he 'was forced to chuſe the other method, of ma-'king ſuch conceſſions to the Emperor, as might 'induce him not to oppoſe this introduction; and 'nothing but a general, abſolute, and unlimited 'guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction could ſatis-'fy his Imperial Majeſty.

'Thus, my Lords, we may ſee, that it was 'not choice, but a neceſſity he had brought upon 'himſelf, that forced our miniſter into this gua-'ranty, and the conſequences have ſhewn, that 'he never had an intention to perform it; ſo that 'it cannot be made uſe of as an argument for 'ſhewing, that he has ever once departed from 'the maxim of cultivating a cloſe correſpondence

'with

'with the court of *France*; and if we were maſ-
'ters of all that was at that time tranſacting be-
'tween us and *France*, eſpecially with regard to
'the affairs of *Poland*, it might perhaps appear,
'that the guaranty he thus engaged in, was no
'ſuſpenſion or infraction of that correſpondence.
'As to the guaranty itſelf, I ſhall in the general
'approve of it, but I cannot approve of the me-
'thod by which we were drawn into it, nor can I
'approve of our having entered into it without
'ſome previous conceſſions from the court of *Vi-*
'*enna*, in favour of ſome of the other Princes of
'the Empire. We then knew, that ſeveral Prin-
'ces of the Empire had claims and complaints a-
'gainſt the houſe of *Auſtria:* We knew that upon
'the Emperor's demiſe, without heirs male of his
'body, theſe Princes would endeavour to vindi-
'cate what they thought their right; and there-
'fore, before we entered into any guaranty of the
'Pragmatick Sanction, we ſhould have endea-
'voured to unite as much as poſſible all the Prin-
'ces of the *Germanick* body in the ſame guaranty,
'by ſtipulating ſome ſatisfaction for them with
'regard to the rights they ſeverally pretended to.
'Some few conceſſions from the court of *Vienna*
'would then have ſatisfied moſt of them, where-
'as, as the caſe now ſtands, I am afraid, it will
'be impoſſible to unite thoſe Princes in any one
'ſcheme for preſerving the tranquillity of their
'country; and if the war which is already begun,
'ſhould become general throughout *Germany*, we
'ſhall ſee the balance of power in *Europe* over-
'turned, or this nation engaged in a war as dan-
'gerous and expenſive as any we were ever enga-
'ged in.

'From what I have ſaid, my Lords, it will
'appear, that our miniſter has, ever ſince his get-
'ting at the head of the adminiſtration, without
'the leaſt voluntary deviation, purſued that max-

'im which was never laid down by any adminiſtration in this kingdom, but by ſuch as had formed deſigns againſt the liberties of their country; which, in my opinion, is a ſtrong preſumption of his having ſome deſigns of the ſame nature, though he takes a very different method for carrying them into execution. In former times, the crown had but very little money, and very few lucrative places to diſpoſe of, therefore they could never carry corruption ſuch a length as to affect our elections; and if they, by that means, ſecured at any time a majority in Parliament, this majority was daily decaying by the new elections going moſtly againſt the court party. This laid them under a neceſſity of making their attacks upon the conſtitution, by ſtretching the prerogatives of the crown beyond their juſt bounds, and this always gave the people an immediate and a general alarum. But now corruption may be carried ſuch a length as to affect moſt of the elections in the kingdom; and therefore it would be ridiculous in an ambitious or wicked miniſter to carry on his attacks upon our conſtitution by any other means. If none of the prerogatives of the crown are now ſtretched beyond their due bounds: If no ſeverities are made uſe of againſt particular perſons: If a greater indulgence be allowed both in writing and ſpeaking than was allowed of in former times: If the private property of no man be invaded or incroached on contrary to law: We are not from thence to judge that our conſtitution is in no danger; for if a miniſter can always ſecure a majority in Parliament, and thereby have what laws he thinks proper, and whatever ſums of money he pleaſes, without account, it would be ridiculous in him to make uſe of any of theſe alaruming methods, or to give himſelf any trouble about what may be ſaid or wrote a-

, gainſt him. He depends upon what he can give,
, and not upon what he can ſay, for an approba-
' tion of every thing he propoſes; and therefore,
' he has no occaſion to trouble his head about
' what is ſaid or wrote againſt it. And as he may
' have by act of Parliament what ſhare he pleaſes
' of the property of every man in the kingdom,
' he has no occaſion to invade the property of any
' particular man.

' This, my Lords, has often made me wonder
' at the weakneſs of ſome people, who cry, How
' can your liberties be in danger, when the private
' property of no man is invaded? When the li-
' berty of the preſs is indulged as much as it ever
' was in this or any other country? And when
' the King, in every thing, makes the laws of the
' land the rule of his government? My Lords,
' theſe things may all be in appearance, and yet
' we may have no liberty left; for if the miniſters
' of the crown, by means of corruption, have got
' the direction of moſt of our elections, and con-
' ſequently rendered themſelves ſecure of a majo-
' rity in every Parliament, we have no liberty;
' we have the ſhadow only of a free government.
' The miniſters may be ſo wiſe as to abſtain from
' particular oppreſſions, or particular acts of vio-
' lence, but the people in general will be oppreſſed,
' and the government will be a general and conti-
' nued act of violence. This was the caſe of
' *Rome* under *Julius* and *Auguſtus Cæſar*: This
' has in every country been the caſe of an arbitra-
' ry government in its infancy; for if the founder
' of an arbitrary government ſhould commit parti-
' cular acts of violence, or oppreſs particular men,
' before the people are accuſtomed to the bit, like
' an unbroken colt, they would break their own
' necks, or the neck of their rider. But after the
' people have been for ſome time accuſtomed to
' the bit, and by good uſage induced to ſubmit to

'it, oppreſſion in every ſhape will at laſt creep in 'upon them, as it did at *Rome* ſoon after the 'death of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; and then the oppreſſor 'may ſometimes ſuffer by the deſperate reſent-'ment of thoſe he has oppreſſed, or the ungrateful 'ambition of thoſe he has advanced, but the peo-'ple will find no relief, unleſs it be that melan-'choly one, a change of oppreſſors.

'This argument, my Lords, I thought myſelf 'obliged to take notice of, becauſe I have often 'heard it urged, againſt thoſe who intimate a 'laudable jealouſy of our conſtitution's being at 'preſent in danger from the ſlow, but ſure attacks 'of corruption. Theſe attacks are the moſt dan-'gerous, becauſe they are the moſt imperceptible. 'By a vulgar eye they cannot be diſcerned, but, 'I hope, they will never long eſcape the piercing 'eye of this aſſembly: And as ſoon as we do per-'ceive them: As ſoon as we do but ſuſpect that 'any miniſter has formed ſuch deſigns, I hope we 'ſhall always take the beſt and moſt obvious me-'thod for preventing them, which is by removing 'that miniſter from his Majeſty's councils and 'preſence. That we have reaſon to ſuſpect the 'miniſter whoſe conduct is now under our conſi-'deration, of having formed ſuch deſigns, has 'been, in this debate, I think, made manifeſt 'from the meaſures, both foreign and domeſtick, 'which he has, without deviation, purſued ever 'ſince his acceſſion to power; and in ſuch a caſe 'ſhall we ſay, ſhall any Lord in this houſe ſay, 'that we ought not to addreſs the King to remove 'him, unleſs it appears that he has been guilty of 'ſome enormous crime, or of ſuch a ſeries of miſ-'conduct, as evidently ſhews him to be a very 'weak man? My Lords, the whole tenor of his 'conduct has been a ſeries of the moſt manifeſt 'weakneſs, or it has been a ſeries of the moſt 'enormous crimes. If he has no ſuch deſign, as

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'I have ſaid I ſuſpect him of, his conduct from 'the beginning of his adminiſtration to this very 'day, has been a ſeries of the moſt monſtrous 'weakneſs: If he has ſuch a deſign, it has been 'a ſeries of the moſt heinous, the moſt dangerous 'crimes.

'By the arguments that have been made uſe of 'in this debate, it would ſeem as if ſome Lords 'thought, that a miniſter ought never to be re-'moved; and that after he has once got himſelf 'at the head of the adminiſtration, he has as 'good a title to continue there, as a man has to 'continue in the poſſeſſion of his eſtate; for this 'muſt be the caſe, if a miniſter is never to be re-'moved unleſs he be condemned as a criminal by 'a court of juſtice, or declared an ideot by a court 'of chancery. My Lords, I happen to be of a 'very different opinion: I think, no miniſter 'ought to be allowed to continue long in his 'place, and that therefore, if the King does not 'remove him, the Parliament ought, even though 'he has never been guilty either of wickedneſs or 'weakneſs. In all free governments it is a max-'im, it is the eſſential quality, the diſtinguiſhing 'character of a free government, That the con-'duct of every miniſter and magiſtrate ought, 'and may be ſtrictly and impartially inquired into, 'by the aſſembly of the people. For this reaſon, 'in all well-conſtituted governments, thoſe who 'have the ſupreme executive power of the ſociety 'in their hands, are never continued for any long 'time in their poſts; becauſe, whilſt they have 'the power and the money of the ſociety at their 'command, it is very difficult to make a ſtrict 'and impartial inquiry into their conduct. By our 'conſtitution the King is never to account for his 'conduct, becauſe, though a great part of the 'executive power be lodged in him, yet he is 'ſuppoſed to do all by his miniſters; and for this

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'reaſon his miniſters, though named by him, are 'always liable to a ſtrict account in Parliament; 'but this ſtrict account they can never eaſily be 'brought to, as long as they continue in the fa-'vour of the crown, and conſequently at the head 'of the adminiſtration; therefore, according to 'the maxim eſtabliſhed in all free and well-conſti-'tuted governments, our miniſters ought never to 'be allowed to continue long at the head of the 'adminiſtration, which a favourite will always be, 'as long as he is allowed to remain in the councils 'or preſence of his Sovereign.

'From hence, my Lords, we muſt ſee, that 'this addreſs would be agreeable to our conſtitu-'tion, and that we ought to agree to it, even al-'though our preſent miniſter could neither be ac-'cuſed, nor ſo much as ſuſpected of any weak 'meaſures or wicked deſigns; but as it has been 'ſhewn in this debate, that he muſt be ſuſpected, 'nay, that he muſt be guilty either of the one 'or the other; this general argument, which is 'founded upon the very nature of a free govern-'ment, is no way neceſſary for prevailing with us 'to agree to this addreſs. But in order to excuſe 'our miniſter, and to find out any reaſon but the 'true one, for the general ſuſpicions and univerſal 'odium that prevail againſt him, it ſeems the 'whole people of *England* are to be accuſed of 'injuſtice, and of inſiſting upon what, in the na-'ture of things, is not to be expected, To have 'the government adminiſtred, and all the ends of 'it anſwered, without putting them to any trou-'ble or expence. My Lords, I will venture to 'become an advocate for the people of *England*; 'I will venture to aſſert, that no general ſuſpicion 'was ever raiſed among them without a juſt 'ground: That they never complained of any 'trouble they were put to, if it was really neceſſa-'ry for their own protection; and that they never

'murmured

'murmured at any expence, if it was neceſſary,
'and frugally applied, for anſwering the ends of
'ſociety. This I will venture to aſſert; and I
'will appeal to the whole tenor of our hiſtories
'for a confirmation of what I ſay.

'I ſhall grant, my Lords, that every man in
'the adminiſtration muſt neceſſarily make ſome
'perſonal enemies; but not near ſo many as the
'noble Lord would inſinuate; for when, of a
'number of candidates for any poſt in his gift, he
'prefers him who is apparently the beſt intitled,
'none of the reſt will complain, and the hopes of
'ſucceſs in their next ſuit will keep them attached
'to his intereſt. If the diſpoſal of poſts and offi-
'ces were a diſadvantage to a miniſter, as the
'noble Lord has endeavour'd to make us believe,
'we ſhould not ſee miniſters ſo fond of increaſing
'the number of thoſe poſts and offices that are at
'the abſolute diſpoſal of the crown, nor ſhould
'we find them ſo unwilling to part with the diſ-
'poſal of thoſe poſts and offices, which they are
'intitled to by the preſent model of our conſtitu-
'tion. A miniſter knows, that by the diſpoſal of
'ſuch poſts and offices he can make a great many
'perſonal friends, that by the expectation of the
'next preferment he may keep a great many at-
'tached to his perſonal intereſt; and that if any
'are ſo hardy, as to declare themſelves his perſo-
'nal enemies, it will be impoſſible for them to form
'any conſiderable party againſt him, as long as
'his meaſures are ſuch as but ſeemingly tend to
'the publick good. Miniſters, my Lords, I ſhall
'allow, may in many things be compared to at-
'tornies at law, and in nothing more aptly than
'in this, that they generally ſacrifice the cauſe of
'their client to their own intereſt; and in law, as
'well as ſtate affairs, we ſhall find, that an attor-
'ney never gets a general bad character without
'ſome very juſt foundation; which, in the caſe

'now

'now before us, ought to be particularly attended
'to, and will be a very ſtrong argument for the
'addreſs propoſed.

'The noble Lord was pleaſed to throw out a
'defiance for any one to ſhew, how a greater part
'of our publick debts might have been paid off
'than has actually been, without laying new or
'heavier taxes upon the people; becauſe, ſaid he,
'our free revenue is not ſufficient for anſwering
'our annual expence. This challenge, my Lords,
'I will accept of, and will endeavour to ſhew,
'that our free revenue has for near twenty years
'been a great deal more than ſufficient for anſwer-
'ing our annual expence, if we had kept up no
'greater armies than were neceſſary, paid no un-
'neceſſary penſions, nor fitted out any uſeleſs
'ſquadrons. For this purpoſe, my Lords, I will
'build my calculations upon thoſe made in a
'pamphlet publiſhed towards the latter end of
'Queen *Anne*'s reign, and ſuppoſed to have been
'wrote by a very near friend of the miniſter,
'whoſe conduct we are now conſidering. The
'author of that pamphlet reckons 350,000*l.* a
'year ſufficient for the ſupport of all the guards
'and gariſons we ought to have here at home,
'and 120,000*l.* a year ſufficient for the ordinary
'of the navy; and I will ſay, that 500,000*l.* a
'year is ſufficient for the civil liſt, if no uſeleſs
'nor dangerous penſions were paid out of it; and
'if to theſe three ſums we add 520,000*l.* a year
'for maintaining 10,000*l.* ſeamen, and 300,000*l.*
'a year for defraying the expence of the office of
'ordnance, and for ſupporting our gariſons at
'*Gibraltar*, *Port-Mahon*, and in the Plantations,
'the whole neceſſary annual expence of this na-
'tion would amount to no more than 1,790,000*l.*
'To which I ſhall add 210,000*l.* yearly for build-
'ing churches, endowing hoſpitals, ſettling colo-
'nies, and other the like extraordinary charges,

'which

'which we have but lately fallen into, in order to 'make up an even ſum of two millions yearly.

'At this rate, my Lords, the whole neceſſary 'annual expence of this nation, in time of peace, 'which would have been our caſe for near twenty 'years paſt, perhaps I may ſay, ever ſince the 'death of Queen *Anne*, if we had not unneceſſa-'rily engaged ourſelves in ſome foreign diſputes 'we had nothing to do with: I ſay, the whole 'neceſſary annual expence of this nation for near 'twenty years paſt would, in this caſe, have a-'mounted to no more than two millions Sterling.

'And now, my Lords, let us compute the free 'revenue, that is, the revenue which is not mort-'gaged for the payment of any old debt. The 'land tax at two ſhillings in the pound, is gene-'rally computed at a million a year, and the malt 'tax at 700,000 *l.* a year; but as there may be a 'deficiency in each, I ſhall compute them both 'but at 1,600,000 *l.* a year; and though the civil 'liſt revenue is generally computed at a million a 'year, I ſhall reckon it but at 900,000 *l.* which 'makes in the whole 2,500,000 *l.* free revenue 'yearly. From whence we may ſee, that if for 'this laſt twenty years we had kept up no greater 'land armies than were neceſſary, nor paid any 'unneceſſary penſions, nor fitted out uſeleſs ſqua-'drons, inſtead of incroaching upon the ſinking 'fund, we might have added 500,000 *l.* to it 'yearly, for paying off our old debts, without 'laying any new or heavier taxes upon the peo-'ple; and if to this we had added what might 'have been ſaved by aboliſhing all ſine-cure poſts, 'and reducing all exorbitant ſalaries, in the ma-'nagement and collection of the publick revenue, 'and had taken proper methods for reducing the 'intereſt of money, I may venture to ſay, that by 'this time moſt of thoſe taxes that lie heavy upon 'poor labourers and manufacturers, would have

'been

'been aboliſhed, and the greateſt part of our 'publick debts, if not the whole, abſolutely diſ-'charged.

'Figures, my Lords, are ſtubborn things: 'They will not give way to eloquence, nor can 'the concluſions drawn from them be evaded by 'the moſt cunning ſophiſtry. There is, therefore, 'no anſwer can be made to what I have advanced, 'except what the noble Lord took care to make 'uſe of by ſaying, that no publick expence has 'been incurred, but what was at the time thought 'neceſſary for the publick ſafety. By whom, my 'Lords, were the ſeveral articles of extraordinary 'expence we have incurred, thought neceſſary? 'Not, I am ſure, by the majority of the nation, 'nor by any unprejudiced man in the kingdom. 'They were thought neceſſary by the miniſter 'only, and ſuch as were at that time prejudiced in 'favour of every thing he propoſed. This ſort 'of prejudice has often a very ſtrong effect upon 'the judgments of the moſt diſcerning, and this 'prejudice in favour of a miniſter, whilſt he keeps 'within any bounds, may very much contribute 'towards procuring him a parliamentary approba-'tion of meaſures that are in their conſequences 'very pernicious; but as theſe conſequences are 'now become apparent to the whole world, though 'they could not be foreſeen by thoſe that were 'prejudiced in his favour, they are now felt even 'by them, and this muſt make them now con-'demn what they were formerly induced by their 'prejudice to approve of.

'For this reaſon, my Lords, if pernicious 'meaſures, or unneceſſary expences have been 'approved of by Parliament, this is no reaſon 'againſt their being now condemned, even by 'thoſe who have formerly approved of them. 'In affairs of a political nature, the beſt, the 'moſt honeſt may err in their judgments, eſpe-

'cially

'cially when they judge in favonr of a perſonal 'friend; but when they diſcover their error, and 'find that their native country has thereby been 'brought into diſtreſs, or, I may ſay, to the 'brink of ruin, they are bound both in juſtice 'and honour to make the beſt atonement they 'can to their country, by addreſſing to remove 'the miniſter who has led them into that error; 'for to ſacrifice our country to any perſonal 'friendſhip, muſt be allowed to be a crime of 'the moſt heinous nature. For the ſame reaſon 'I muſt think, the noble Lord has not now any 'great reaſon to boaſt of the good luck he has 'had to ſee his opinion confirmed by the majori-'ty of both houſes of Parliament. He muſt 'know that his opinion has been generally con-'demned by the majority of the nation; and he 'muſt now find it condemned by the neceſſary 'conſequences of things; for I will appeal to 'the common ſenſe of mankind, if ever this 'nation was in greater danger of being invaded, 'if ever our allies were in greater danger of be-'ing ſwallowed up, if ever the balance of power 'was in greater danger of being overturned, 'than at this inſtant; and to the ſame I will ap-'peal, after what has been ſaid in this debate, 'if all theſe dangers have not naturally ariſen 'from our having too much cultivated a corre-'ſpondence with *France*, from our having reſto-'red the correſpondence between *France* and '*Spain*, from our having laid a foundation for a 'breach between *Spain* and the Emperor, and 'from our having left the latter to the mercy of 'his enemies at a time when, I think, we were 'bound both in honour and intereſt to aſſiſt 'him. The noble Lord has therefore now no 'great reaſon to boaſt of his opinion's having 'been confirmed by both houſes of Parliament. 'And if the general opinion of the nation be

'right,

'right, if the approbation of Parliament has 'been owing to any ſort of corrupt influence, 'no man can have any reaſon to be proud of his 'having been one of ſuch a majority; but upon 'the contrary, ſuch an uniform and ſuſpicious 'concurrence of Parliament, with every thing 'the miniſter was pleaſed to propoſe, becomes 'an additional, and a ſtrong reaſon for the re-'moval of that miniſter.

'I am really amazed, my Lords, to hear it ſo 'much as pretended, that the *Dutch* were in 'danger of being attacked, in conſequence of 'the treaty between *Spain* and the Emperor in '1725. It is ſurpriſing that we ſhould at that 'time have been more afraid of their being at-'tack'd than they were themſelves; for it is ve-'ry well known, that they were not parties 'contractors in the treaty of *Hanover*, though 'they were named as ſuch: It is known that 'they did not accede to it till near a year after 'it was made, and that their acceſſion was then 'procured with great difficulty, and under ſeve-'ral reſtrictions; therefore the danger the *Dutch* 'were in of being attack'd, could be no reaſon-'able motive for our engaging in that treaty; 'and if the *French* were in any danger of being 'attack'd by the Emperor and *Spain*, it was not 'ſurely the intereſt of this nation to prevent that 'attack, becauſe ſuch a war would have been of 'great ſervice to the trade of this kingdom, and 'we ſhould have had it in our power to direct or 'put a ſtop to the progreſs of the arms of either 'ſide, whenever we thought proper.

'To preſerve the tranquillity of *Europe* is a 'very good and a very chriſtian-like maxim, but 'we have of late years puſhed it ſo far, that it 'is really become ridiculous. The true intereſt 'of this nation is not ſo much to preſerve the 'tranquillity of *Europe*, as to take care of the

'balance of power in *Europe*, and for this pur-
'poſe to take care, that in every war that hap-
'pens, the parties engaged ſhall be as equally
'match'd as poſſible, and that no one power
'ſhall puſh its ſucceſs ſo far as to bring that ba-
'lance into danger. If the Emperor and *Spain*
'had an intention to attack *France*, in conſe-
'quence of the treaty of *Vienna*, we may be very
'well aſſured, they would not have attacked, or
'offended the *Dutch* at the ſame time; and if
'*France* had been attack'd by the united power
'of the Emperor and *Spain*, the parties engaged
'would have been ſo equally match'd, that both
'would have taken care not to puſh the war ſo
'far, or in that way, as might throw the power
'of this nation into the other ſide of the ſcale;
'therefore, if we were to chuſe, I will be bold
'to ſay, we could not chuſe a war in *Europe* that
'would be more beneficial, or leſs dangerous to
'this nation, than a war between the Emperor
'and *Spain* of one ſide, and *France* alone on the
'other. From whence I muſt ſuppoſe, either
'that thoſe who adviſed the treaty of *Hanover*,
'and the ſteps taken in purſuance of that treaty,
'did not underſtand the intereſt of their country,
'or that they had motives very diſtinct from the
'intereſt of their country. But after we had made
'that treaty, and had, by the meaſures we took in
'purſuance thereof, brought on a rupture between
'*Spain* and us, it was very ſurprizing, we did not
'take that opportunity to compel the *Spaniards*
'to make ſatisfaction for all the injuries they had
'done us, and to give up, in the moſt expreſs
'terms, the unjuſt pretences they had ſet up
'againſt us in *America*, particularly that of
'ſearching and ſeizing our ſhips, on pretence of
'their having contraband goods on board.

'To pretend, my Lords, that we had then
'nothing to aſk from *Spain* but a renewal and

'confirmation of former treaties, and reparation 'for our merchants, is very ſurprizing. Had 'not the *Spaniards*, under colour of thoſe very 'treaties, ſet up a right to ſearch our ſhips in the '*American* ſeas, and to ſeize them, if they found 'ſuch goods on board as they were pleaſed to 'call contraband? Had not they, under colour 'of thoſe very treaties, ſet up a right to exclude 'us from cutting logwood in the bay of *Hondu-*'*ras?* Had not they, under colour of thoſe very 'treaties, ſet up a right to build forts which 'command, and conſequently render uſeleſs a 'great part of the bay of *Gibraltar?* And could 'we ſuppoſe, that any of theſe pretended rights 'would be given up by a general renewal and 'confirmation of former treaties? We ought, 'therefore, to have inſiſted upon their giving up 'every one of theſe pretended rights in the moſt 'explicit terms. If we had done this, and had made 'them ſeverely ſmart for the injuries and inſults 'they had put upon us, we might have truſted 'to ſtipulations for reparation and ſatisfaction; 'but when we ſhewed ourſelves ſo fond of peace, 'as to ſacrifice our undoubted rights, rather than 'to continue or puſh the war, could we expect 'they would ſhew the leaſt regard to the ſtipula-'tions they made with us? It is, therefore, aſto-'niſhing to hear it now ſaid, that we obtained, 'by the treaty of *Seville*, all we had to aſk at 'that time from *Spain:* And that treaty's having 'been approved of by Parliament, is of no 'weight in this debate; for it is not the firſt time 'we have ſeen a miniſter condemned in a follow-'ing ſeſſion for a treaty that has had the appro-'bation of a preceding ſeſſion of Parliament.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we were induced to 'accept of the treaty of *Seville*, by a belief that 'the *Spaniards* would perform the ſtipulations 'they had made with us, and that they would

'deſiſt

'deſiſt from the pretended rights they had ſet up 'againſt us, what was the reaſon of our ſitting 'ſtill after they had refuſed, or moſt unreaſona-'bly delay'd to perform any part of the ſtipula-'tions they had made with us, and after we 'found, that they inſiſted upon and proſecuted 'their pretended rights with as much vigour as 'ever? This was the caſe before the war broke out 'between them and the Emperor in 1733, which 'afforded us an excellent opportunity for com-'pelling them to perform all the ſtipulations they 'had made with us, and to give up in the moſt 'expreſs terms every pretended right they had ſet 'up againſt us. Whether we were obliged to aſſiſt 'the Emperor in that war or no, ſurely we ought 'to have taken that opportunity for compelling '*Spain* to do us juſtice. At that time, the court 'of *Spain* would have done us juſtice, if we had 'but inſiſted peremptorily upon it. But from 'the papers upon our table it appears, that we 'never once made a peremptory demand. This 'conduct it is impoſſible to account for any other 'way than by admitting, that our miniſter was 'afraid of doing any thing, or even of aſking 'any thing that might give umbrage to the court 'of *France*. Inſtead of aſſiſting our allies, and 'vindicating the rights of our country, we con-'tinued our perplexed negotiations, without 'taking any one ſtep that could be effectual, 'either for preſerving the balance of power in '*Europe*, or for putting an end to the incroach-'ments that *Spain* had for ſo many years been 'making upon us.

'I ſay, my Lords, without taking any one 'ſtep that could be effectual; for the prepara-'tions we made, and the expence we put our-'ſelves to, had a quite contrary effect. The 'court of *France*, or any other court in *Europe* 'that deſires to ſee the ruin of this nation, will

'always be glad to ſee us put ourſelves to unne-
'ceſſary expences, which every warlike prepara-
'tion muſt be, when it is made before we have
'reſolved to make uſe of it. Armies may be ſo
'ſoon raiſed, and ſquadrons may be ſo ſpeedily
'fitted out in this kingdom, that when any ſuch
'are raiſed or fitted out, before we have imme-
'diate occaſion for them, I ſhall always believe,
'and our natural enemies will ſuppoſe, it is done
'not to attack them, but to amuſe our own peo-
'ple. Let us recollect what was done in King
'*Charles* the IId's reign. The preparations he
'made, before and during the treaty of *Nimeguen*,
'put the nation to a vaſt expence; but had they
'any effect upon the court of *France*, againſt
'whom they were pretended to be made? No,
'my Lords, that court were well aſſured that theſe
'preparations were made, not with a deſign to
'attack them, but to amuſe our own people; and
'therefore, they were pleaſed with ſeeing us put
'ourſelves to ſuch a ridiculous expence. I hope
'this was not the caſe, with regard to the prepara-
'tions we made during the late war between them
'and the Emperor. But whatever may be in
'this, I am very certain it is not our preparations,
'but our reſolutions that can have any effect upon
'the meaſures of any court in *Europe*; becauſe,
'without the latter the former can ſignify nothing,
'and when reſolutions are taken, preparations
'may ſoon be made. It was not upon that occa-
'ſion our preparations, nor, I believe, our reſo-
'lutions, that ſet bounds to the views of *France*:
'It was their finding it impoſſible for them to
'ſucceed in their deſign upon *Poland*, and the
'*Muſcovite* troops having obtained leave to march
'thro' the Empire; for they then ſaw themſelves
'in danger of being overpowered, by the armies
'brought from *Muſcovy* and *Poland* to the aſſi-
'ſtance of the Emperor.

'This, my Lords, muſt ſhew what an excel-
'lent opportunity we then had for adjuſting, to
'our own ſatisfaction, all our differences with
'*Spain*; and for obtaining from them what ſecu-
'rities or pledges we pleaſed to inſiſt on, for their
'future good behaviour in the *Weſt-Indies*. I am
'ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that the *Spaniards* had
'given us no new cauſe of complaint. Had not
'they ſearched, ſeized, and confiſcated many of
'our ſhips, after the treaty of *Seville*, and before
'their attacking the Emperor? Had not our
'merchants, the very next year after the treaty of
'*Seville*, brought new complaints upon that ſub-
'ject in Parliament? And as to the orders ſent by
'the King of *Spain* in 1732, to his governors in
'*America*, on which the noble Lord was pleaſed
'to lay ſo great a ſtreſs, thoſe very orders ought
'to have made us reſolve upon a declaration of
'war. In theſe orders, his Catholick Majeſty
'commands his governors not to allow any of his
'ſubjects to moleſt or abuſe *Engliſh* ſhips ſailing
'in the *American* ſeas, *ſo long as they keep in their*
'*proper diſtances, and are not concerned in an illicit*
'*trade*. Was not this, on the part of *Spain*, an
'expreſs declaration againſt the freedom of our
'navigation in the *American* ſeas? Was it not an
'expreſs declaration, that notwithſtanding the
'treaty of *Seville*, his Catholick Majeſty would
'inſiſt upon a right to ſearch our ſhips in the
'*American* ſeas? Could we after this imagine,
'that he would ever, by fair means, give up that
'right? Suppoſe we had at that time had ſome
'reaſon to believe, that our commiſſaries might
'at laſt ſucceed in their negotiation, yet, as the
'freedom of our navigation was of much greater
'conſequence, than the paltry ſum we had to
'expect from that negotiation, upon ſuch a de-
'claration we ought to have recalled our com-
'miſſaries from the court, and ſent our ſquadrons

'to the coaſts of *Spain*, with proper orders for 'compelling what our negotiators had been ſo 'long begging for in vain.

'This, my Lords, was the caſe between *Spain* 'and us in 1732; and in 1733, when the war 'broke out between them and the Emperor, it 'was no way mended; for the *Spaniards* conti- 'nued to inſiſt upon their right to confine our 'navigation in the *Weſt-Indies*, as appear'd by 'their cedula for reſtoring the ſhip *Woolball*, 'which ſhip was by that cedula to be reſtored, '*unleſs taken in any ſuſpected courſe of navigation.* 'This happened in the beginning of the year '1733: In the month of *March* of the ſame 'year, they committed a moſt heinous inſult upon 'us, by attacking Captain *Durell* in his Majeſty's 'ſhip the *Scarborough*, and taking four of the '*Engliſh* ſhips, then under his convoy, gathering 'ſalt at the iſland of *Tortugas*, tho' they had, 'by an expreſs treaty in 1715, confirmed by the 'treaty of *Seville*, acknowledged our right to 'gather ſalt in that iſland: During that whole 'ſummer they not only continued their depreda- 'tions upon us in the *American* ſeas, but inſulted 'us in the *Mediterranean*, by ſearching our ſhips, 'and carrying away priſoners ſuch *Moors* as they 'found on board, on pretence of their being 'enemies to *Spain*; and before the end of that 'year we perceived, or, I am ſure, ought to 'have perceived, that the negotiations of our 'commiſſaries would certainly end in nothing. 'Therefore I muſt ſuppoſe the noble Lord did 'not attend to the tranſactions of thoſe times, 'or that he has forgot them, otherwiſe he would 'not have ſaid, that when the war broke out be- 'tween *Spain* and the Emperor, the *Spaniards* 'had given us no new cauſe of complaint, or that 'we had then reaſon to hope for a full repara- 'tion, as to all paſt injuries.

'My

'My Lords, we had then no reaſon to hope 'for obtaining, by fair means, any reparation for 'the paſt, or any ſecurity for the time to come; 'and therefore it was a moſt amazing piece of 'conduct in us, not to embrace that opportunity 'for doing ourſelves juſtice by force of arms. 'The weakneſs of this conduct could not at that 'time be perceived, eſpecially by thoſe who were 'willing to have a good opinion of every thing 'done by the miniſter, becauſe they could not 'know the circumſtances of the negotiations be-'tween *Spain* and us, and therefore eaſily believed 'what was often confidently aſſerted, that we 'were in a fair way of obtaining all we could de-'ſire by negotiation; but now it muſt appear to 'every man that examines, even thoſe papers our 'miniſters have been pleaſed to lay before Parlia-'ment, (for no papers have been called for, but 'what they agreed to) that from the very begin-'ning, and eſpecially towards the end of the year '1733, we had no reaſon to hope for obtaining 'any thing by negotiation; and therefore every 'impartial man muſt now conclude, that it was 'extreamly weak, to call it no worſe, in our 'miniſter, to continue his negotiations at a time 'when he could not but ſee, that they were vain, 'and at a time when he had ſo fair an opportuni-'ty for vindicating the rights and eſtabliſhing, I 'ſhall not ſay reſtoring, the honour of his country.

'A ſtate of peace and tranquillity is, I ſhall 'moſt readily grant, a moſt deſirable thing for 'any nation; but can a nation be ſaid to be in a 'ſtate of peace and tranquillity, that is every year 'at the expence of a ſtate of war, and daily plun-'dered and inſulted by its neighbours? Has not 'this been the caſe of this nation for twenty years 'paſt? We have every year been keeping up great 'armies, and fitting out expenſive ſquadrons, with-'out being allowed to make uſe of thoſe armies

'or ſquadrons, either for protecting ourſelves, or 'for gaining ſuch advantages, as we had reaſon to 'expect from an open war, and which might have 'atoned for the expence we were at, and the 'damage we met with. But ſuppoſe the publick 'tranquillity had been preſerved, can our miniſter 'be ſaid to have done it, when no diſturbance has, 'ever ſince his adminiſtration, happened in *Eu-* 'rope, but what has been occaſioned by his mea- 'ſures? Or can the political ſyſtem of affairs in '*Europe* be ſaid to be no way changed, when by 'his meaſures a cloſe correſpondence has been re- 'ſtor'd between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, 'and a diffidence, if not diſcord, eſtabliſhed be- 'tween the houſe of *Auſtria* and its moſt natural 'allies. My Lords, ſuppoſe the power of the 'houſe of *Auſtria* were no way diminiſhed, nor 'that of the houſe of *Bourbon* increaſed, this very 'diffidence brings the balance of power into immi- 'nent danger; but it muſt be allowed, that the 'power of the houſe of *Auſtria* ſuffered a conſi- 'derable diminution, and that of the houſe of '*Bourbon* got a conſiderable addition by the iſſue 'of the laſt war; for the revenues of *Tuſcany*, '*Parma* and *Placentia* are far from being equal to 'thoſe of the two *Sicilies*; and the duchy of *Lo-* '*rain* is a very great addition to the power of '*France*, not only by its ſituation, but by the 'addition it will make to the revenues of that for- 'midable monarchy.

'The *French*, it is true, had gariſons in the 'towns of *Lorain*, during the war in Queen '*Anne*'s time, becauſe the Duke was not then in a 'condition to prevent it; but they had not even 'then the revenues of the duchy, and were obli- 'ged to draw away their gariſons at the peace. 'Whereas now they are to have the revenues as 'well as the fortified towns of that duchy, and 'will certainly improve both to the utmoſt; ſo

'that

'that it will ſerve as a barrier for *France* againſt 'the Empire, and as an inlet into *Germany*, 'whenever they have a mind to attack it; the 'direct contrary of which would have happened, 'if the Duke of *Lorain* had come to be Emperor; 'for he would have fortified and kept ſtrong ga-'riſons in all the towns of that duchy, which 'would have prevented the *French* from being 'able to ſurprize it; and this would have made it 'ſerve as a barrier for the Empire againſt *France*, 'and as an inlet to *France*, in caſe of a war be-'tween the *French* and the *Germans*.

'From theſe circumſtances, my Lords, without 'conſidering the addition made to the houſe of '*Bourbon* by giving the two *Sicilies* to *Don Carlos*, 'it is plain, that the houſe of *Auſtria* was not ſo 'powerful at the time of the late Emperor's death, 'as at any time for twenty years paſt, and the 'houſe of *Bourbon* was much more powerful than 'it had been at any time within that period, and 'much better united than it would have been, if 'proper meaſures had been taken by us for pre-'venting that union. As to the Emperor's death, 'its happening before any proper meaſures had 'been taken for ſettling the affairs of the Empire, 'was certainly a very great misfortune to *Germa-'ny*, but I doubt much if it was a misfortune to 'this nation; for the court of *Vienna* was ſo much 'irritated againſt us, that I queſtion if we could 'have got any aſſiſtance from thence, even though '*France* had joined with *Spain* againſt us, and 'this the *French* would probably have done before 'now, if the Emperor's death had not prevented 'it; but their attention is now ſo much fixt upon 'the advantages they may reap from that acci-'dent, that they muſt for ſome time neglect tak-'ing notice of what may happen between us and '*Spain*. This, my Lords, has prevented our be-'ing obliged to ſtand ſingle and alone againſt the

'united

'united power of *France* and *Spain*, and may 'procure us a formidable alliance, in caſe *France* 'ſhould declare againſt us; but if we do not ma- 'nage our future negotiations better than we have 'done our paſt, this accident of the Emperor's 'death, may produce a war in *Europe*, more dan- 'gerous and expenſive than any this nation was 'ever engaged in; but whatever may be the fu- 'ture fate either of this nation, or of *Europe*, it is 'evident from what has been ſaid in this debate, 'that the preſent unlucky ſituation of the affairs 'of *Europe*, is chiefly owing to our miniſter's ha- 'ving ſo long cultivated a cloſe friendſhip with 'the court of *France*; and this, as I have ſaid, 'muſt and ought to raiſe a ſuſpicion, that his de- 'ſigns are not very favourable for the liberties of 'his country.

'As to the other grounds of ſuſpicion, eſpecial- 'ly thoſe of a domeſtick nature, the anſwers made 'to moſt of them conſiſt chiefly in a denial of 'facts, and as theſe facts are moſtly of a publick 'nature, I ſhall leave them to ſtand or fall by 'their own evidence; for I do not know what to 'ſay to thoſe who deny, that any unneceſſary or 'oppreſſive laws have been paſſed or attempted: 'That there are no ſuſpicions of any corrupt 'practices in Parliament or at elections: That the 'miniſter has not endeavoured to ingroſs the ear 'of his Sovereign; or that he has not aſſumed 'the diſpoſal of any poſt or office but ſuch as be- 'long to his own department. I ſhall only ob- 'ſerve, that thoſe who are known to be friends 'to the miniſter, cannot expect information as to 'the ſuſpicions entertained by the people, from 'any of thoſe perſons that are applying to them 'for favours. They muſt take other methods for 'information; and if they take the proper me- 'thods, they will find theſe ſuſpicions ſo general, 'that if they have a true regard for his Majeſty,

'they

'they muſt conclude, it is neither proper nor ſafe
'for him to have ſuch a miniſter about him.

'Upon this ſubject I ſhall therefore give your
'Lordſhips no farther trouble; but there was a
'rule laid down by the noble Lord that ſpoke
'laſt, or rather an exception to a general rule,
'which I muſt beg leave to take notice of. The
'noble Lord admitted, that the King ought not
'to take notice of any gentleman's behaviour in
'Parliament; but he made an exception which I
'cannot admit of. He ſaid, the King might ſo
'far take notice of a gentleman's behaviour in
'Parliament, as to turn him out of his ſervice,
'if he there patronized any Jacobitiſh or Republi-
'can ſchemes. My Lords, this is an exception
'that totaly deſtroys the rule; for every oppoſi-
'tion to a miniſter's meaſures will by him be call-
'ed a Jacobitiſh or Republican ſcheme for diſtreſ-
'ing the adminiſtration. His Majeſty is to truſt
'to his Parliament; for while he does ſo, he will
'have no reaſon to be afraid of ſuch ſchemes.
'The houſe itſelf would ſend any member to the
'Tower, that ſhould dare to introduce any ſuch
'ſcheme; and therefore, if the houſe takes notice
'of a gentleman's behaviour, his Majeſty ought
'not to believe, that it was either Jacobitiſh or
'Republican. Even the noble Lord who made
'this exception admits, that no ſuch caſe has late-
'ly happened, but ſays, that his preſent Majeſty
'never diſmiſſed any one from his ſervice on ac-
'count of his behaviour in Parliament. I ſhall
'not ſay he has; but ſeveral members both of
'this and the other houſe, have been diſmiſſed
'for no other reaſon that could be gueſſed at;
'and as their diſmiſſion unluckily happened, juſt
'after their having oppoſed in Parliament, ſome
'favourite ſcheme of the very miniſter whoſe con-
'duct is now under our conſideration, the world
'will believe, that there was no other reaſon for

'diſmiſſing

'diſmiſſing them, and that this very miniſter was 'the perſon that gave ſuch a pernicious advice to 'his Sovereign.

'This, my Lords, was a belief more generally 'eſtabliſhed in this nation than other belief we 'have amongſt us, long before he made the de-'claration that has been mentioned in this de-'bate; but by that declaration he has made this 'belief certain, and has, in my opinion, made it 'inconſiſtent with the dignity of any Lord in 'this houſe to give a negative to this queſtion; 'for after that declaration, conſidering what has 'ſince happened, the world will ſuppoſe, that 'every negative to this queſtion proceeds from the 'fear of loſing, or the hopes of getting ſome poſt 'or penſion from the crown. It will therefore be 'inconſiſtent with our dignity to put a negative 'upon this motion; and I am ſurprized to hear 'the noble and learned Lord call it a ſevere ſen-'tence, or ſay that it is not conſiſtent with our 'known juſtice and impartiality, to agree to this 'addreſs, without firſt hearing the miniſter in his 'own defence. My Lords, it is nothing like a 'ſentence: In agreeing to ſuch an addreſs we do 'not act in our judicative capacity: We act only 'as the great and ſupreme council of the nation, 'and as ſuch we are obliged to give the beſt ad-'vice we can to our Sovereign: For this reaſon, 'ſuch addreſſes have generally been agreed to 'without hearing the miniſter concerned; becauſe 'upon ſuch occaſions we are not to conſider the 'guilt or innocence of the miniſter, but the ſafety 'of the crown and the intereſt of the nation; and 'in all caſes where we think either of theſe im-'mediately at ſtake, we ought to offer our advice, 'let the conſequences be what they will.

'I ſhall grant, my Lords, that by our conſti-'tution his Majeſty is not peremptorily obliged 'to follow our advice upon this ſubject, no more than

'than upon any other; but is this a reaſon for 'our not doing our duty? If we think, that his 'Majeſty's continuing an unpopular miniſter in 'his ſervice, may alienate from him the hearts 'and affections of his people: If we think, that 'a miniſter has betrayed the intereſts of his 'country, either by his weakneſs or wickedneſs; 'is it not our duty, as his Majeſty's chief coun-'cil, to adviſe him to diſmiſs ſuch a miniſter? 'And ſhall we fail in our duty towards our So-'vereign, becauſe we apprehend, that miniſter 'may have ſuch an influence over him as to pre-'vent his following our advice? My Lords, I do 'not think it conſiſtent with the reſpect we owe 'to our Sovereign, to entertain any ſuch appre-'henſions; and, I am ſure, it would be no ſign 'of affection or duty in a miniſter, to continue 'in his Majeſty's ſervice, after either houſe of 'Parliament has addreſſed for his being removed. 'Therefore, if we agree to this addreſs, we 'ought to ſuppoſe, either that the King, out of 'his wonted prudence, will remove the miniſter, 'or that the miniſter, out of his fidelity to his 'Prince, will remove himſelf, by reſigning all 'his employments, and retiring from his Maje-'ſty's councils and preſence.

'To pretend, my Lords, that to remove a 'miniſter, would be an injury done him, unleſs 'he had done ſomething to deſerve being diſ-'miſſed, is a very extraordinary ſort of doctrine. 'Is not the King maſter of his ſervants; and has 'not every maſter a right to remove any one of 'his ſervants without aſſigning a reaſon? The 'Parliament has a right to adviſe the King what 'ſervants he may employ, becauſe they are em-'ployed in conducting the affairs of the nation; 'but no man has a right to be employed, or to 'continue in any employment not granted to him 'for life, or for a term of years; and the Parlia-

'ment's

'ment's deſiring the removal of any ſervant or 'miniſter, is as good a reaſon as the King can 'have for removing him. It would be a moſt 'pernicious advice to tell the King, that he 'ought to conſider, whether the addreſs of his 'Parliament be well or ill founded. But ſuppoſe 'the King ſhould follow ſuch pernicious advice, 'and deny the requeſt of his Parliament, this 'might, it probably would, and it ought to raiſe 'an animoſity in both houſes of Parliament 'againſt the miniſter; but it could raiſe no ani-'moſity againſt the King; and I hope the Par-'liament of *Great Britain* will always be able to 'pull any miniſter from behind the throne; for 'if it ſhould not, that very inability would be a 'diſſolution of our conſtitution, and therefore 'we ſhould have no reaſon to apprehend the 'conſtitution's being brought into any danger by 'our making the experiment. If our happy 'conſtitution be yet entire, we may depend upon 'ſucceſs: If it be already diſſolved, we have 'nothing to fear: But by making the experiment, 'we have ſomething to hope; becauſe we may 'thereby reſtore our conſtitution; and therefore 'I am for agreeing to the addreſs propoſed.'

The queſtion being at laſt put upon this motion, it was carried in the negative by the numbers as follows, *viz.*

Contents 47, Proxies 12, in all 59. Not Contents 89, Proxies 19, in all 108.

Motion cenſured.

As ſoon as this queſtion was thus determined in the negative, the Duke of *Marlborough* roſe up and ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

Duke of *Marlborough*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'Though your patience muſt undoubtedly be 'wearied by the unuſual length of this day's de-'bate, a debate protracted in my opinion, not by

'the difficulty of the queſtion, but by the obſti-
'nacy of prejudice, the ardor of paſſion, and the
'deſire of victory; yet I doubt not but the regard
'which this aſſembly has always paid to the ſafety
'and happineſs of the ſtate, will incline you to
'ſupport the fatigue of attention a little longer,
'and to hear with your uſual impartiality, another
'motion.

'The propoſition which I am about to lay
'down, my Lords, is not ſuch as can admit of
'controverſy; it is ſuch a ſtanding principle as
'was always acknowledged even by thoſe who
'have deviated from it. Such a known truth as
'never was denied, though it appears ſometimes
'to have been forgotten.

'But, my Lords, as it never can be forgotten
'without injury to particular perſons, and danger
'to the ſtate in general, it cannot be too frequent-
'ly recollected, or too firmly eſtabliſh'd; it ought
'not only to be tacitly admitted, but publickly
'declared, ſince no man's fortune, liberty, or life
'can be ſafe, where his judges ſhall think them-
'ſelves at liberty to act upon any other principle.
'I therefore move, "That any attempt to inflict
"any kind of puniſhment on any perſon without
"allowing him an opportunity to make his de-
"fence, or without any proof of any crime or
"miſdemeanor committed by him, is contrary to
"natural juſtice, the fundamental laws of this
"realm, and the ancient eſtabliſh'd uſage of Par-
"liament, and is a high infringement of the liber-
"ties of the ſubject."

He was ſeconded by the Duke of *Devonſhire*.

'My Lords,

'Though the motion made by the noble Duke, Duke of *Devonſhire*'s ſpeech.
'is of ſuch a kind, that no oppoſition can be ex-
'pected or feared, yet I riſe up to ſecond it, leſt

'it

'it ſhould be imagined that what cannot be rejected, is yet unwillingly admitted.

'That where this maxim is not allowed and adher'd to, rights and liberties are empty ſounds, is unconteſtably evident; if this principle be forſaken, guilt and innocence are equally ſecure, all caution is vain, and all teſtimony uſeleſs. Caprice will in our courts ſupply the place of reaſon, and all evidence muſt give way to malice, or to favour.

'I hope therefore, my Lords, that your regard to juſtice, to truth, and to your own ſafety, will influence you to confirm this great and ſelf-evident principle by a ſtanding reſolution, that may not only reſtrain oppreſſion in the preſent age, but direct the judiciary proceedings of our ſucceſſors.'

The Lord *Lovel* roſe next, and ſpoke as follows.

'My Lords,

Lord *Lovel*'s ſpeech.

'Liberty and juſtice muſt always ſupport each other, they can never long flouriſh apart, every temporary expedient that can be contrived to preſerve or enlarge liberty by means arbitrary and oppreſſive, forms a precedent which may in time be made uſe of to violate or deſtroy it. Liberty is in effect ſuſpended, whenever injuſtice is practiſed; for what is liberty, my Lords, but the power of doing right without fear, without controul, and without danger?

'But, my Lords, if any man may be condemn'd unheard, if judgment may precede evidence, what ſafety, or what confidence can integrity afford? It is in vain that any man means well, and acts prudently, it is even in vain that he can prove the juſtice and prudence of his conduct.

'By

'By liberty, my Lords, can never be meant 'the privilege of doing wrong without being ac- 'countable, becauſe liberty is always ſpoken of as 'happineſs, or one of the means to happineſs, and 'happineſs and virtue cannot be ſeparated. The 'great uſe of liberty muſt therefore be to preſerve 'juſtice from violation, juſtice the great publick 'virtue, by which a kind of equality is diffuſed 'over the whole ſociety, by which wealth is re- 'ſtrained from oppreſſion, and inferiority preſer- 'ved from ſervitude.

'Liberty, general liberty, muſt imply general 'juſtice; for wherever any part of a ſtate can be 'unjuſt with impunity, the reſt are ſlaves. That 'to condemn any man unheard is oppreſſive and 'unjuſt, is beyond controverſy demonſtrable, and 'that no ſuch power is claimed by your Lordſhips 'will, I hope, appear from your reſolutions.'

The Lord *Gower* ſpoke next.

'My Lords,

'To the principle laid down by thoſe noble 'Lords, I have no objection, and concur with 'them in hoping that all our proceedings will 'contribute to eſtabliſh it; but why it ſhould be 'confirmed by a formal reſolution, why the houſe 'ſhould ſolemnly declare their aſſent to a maxim 'which it would be madneſs to deny, it is beyond 'my penetration to diſcover. Lord *Gower*'s ſpeech.

'Though the noble Lord's poſition cannot be 'controverted, yet his motion, if it is deſigned 'to imply any cenſure of the proceedings of this 'day, may reaſonably be rejected; and that ſome 'cenſure is intended, we may conjecture, becauſe, 'no other reaſon can be given why it was not 'made at ſome other time.'

The Earl of *Halifax* then roſe, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows.

'My Lords,

Earl of *Halifax*'s ſpeech.

'That a cenſure is intended, will, I ſuppoſe, 'not be denied, and that ſuch a cenſure is unjuſt 'muſt doubtleſs be the opinion of all thoſe who 'are ſuppoſed to have incur'd it, and it will there-'fore not be wondered that the motion is oppoſed 'by them, as indecent and calumnious; late as it 'is, my Lords, I will not for my part ſuffer ſuch 'an indignity without oppoſition, and ſhall think 'my conſcience and my honour require, that I 'ſhould not be overborn by perſeverance or by 'numbers, but that I ſhould, if I cannot convince 'the noble Lords by argument, of the impropri-'ety of the motion, record my reaſons againſt it, 'which may perhaps be more candidly received 'by poſterity.'

The Lord *Talbot* ſpoke to this effect.

'My Lords,

Lord *Talbot*'s ſpeech.

'It is not without indignation that I hear a 'motion ſo injurious to my own honour, and to 'that of the noble Lords who have concurred 'with me in the laſt debate, nor without contempt 'that I obſerved the motion confounded with the 'poſitions contained in it; the low ſubtilty of 'ſuch conduct is no leſs to be deſpiſed than the 'malice to be abhorred.

'Fifty nine Lords are here branded as ſtrangers 'or enemies to the firſt principle of judicial equity, 'for doing what will intitle them to the general 'applauſe of every man in the kingdom that has 'the full poſſeſſion of his underſtanding, or the 'free uſe of his ſenſes, of every man that can 'diſtinguiſh truth or feel oppreſſion.

'They

'They have endeavoured to reſcue their country from the rapine of penſioners and the tyranny of an army, from perpetual taxes, and uſeleſs expences; they have attempted to expoſe the errors of arrogant ignorance, and to depreſs the power of greatneſs founded on corruption and ſwelling beyond legal reſtraints.

'That for ſuch attempts they are vilified and reproached, is not to be obſerved without indignation and aſtoniſhment; aſtoniſhment which nothing could abate but the recollection of the ſituation of thoſe Lords who have united to promote ſo unjuſt a cenſure.

'Let us, my Lords, conſider the circumſtances of the three noble Lords by whom this motion has been made and ſupported, let us take a view of their conduct, and conſider the viſible motives to which it may be aſcribed, their places, their dependence———

The Earl of *Cholmondeley* ſpoke next in ſubſtance as follows.

'My Lords,

'I riſe thus abruptly to preſerve that order and decency which is eſſential to publick councils, and particularly ſuitable to the dignity of this aſſembly, which can only become a ſcene of tumult and confuſion by ſuch methods of debate, and loſe that reſpect which it has hitherto preſerved, not only by the juſtice of its determinations, but by the ſolemn grandeur of its procedure. Earl of *Cholmondeley*'s ſpeech.

'The motion, my Lords, is allowed to contain nothing but what every man avows in ſpeculation, and obſerves, or ought to obſerve, in publick tranſactions; and yet thoſe that offer and ſupport it are repreſented as abettors of oppreſſion, and inſtruments of tyranny.

'It is ſurely wonderful, my Lords, that thoſe 'who are ſollicitous for the preſervation of their 'own honour, and ſo diligent to obviate the moſt 'remote reflection that may glance upon it, ſhould 'not remember, that the ſame delicacy may raiſe 'in others the ſame reſentment, when their repu-'tation is openly attacked; and that while they 'are aſſerting the right of the minority to an ex-'emption from cenſure, they ſhall not allow the 'greater number, at leaſt an equal claim to the 'ſame privilege.'

The Lord *Talbot* then reſum'd:

Lord *Talbot*'s anſwer.

'My Lords,

'Whether any thing has eſcaped from me that 'deſerves ſuch ſevere animadverſions, your Lord-'ſhips muſt decide. For what I might intend to 'ſay, ſince by the interruption of that noble Lord, 'I was hindred from proceeding, I hope I ſhall 'not be accountable.

'Not that I acknowledge myſelf to have aſſert-'ed any thing either contrary to law, or to the 'privileges of the houſe, or inconſiſtent with the 'character of an independent Lord, a character 'which I ſhall always endeavour to preſerve, and 'which I will not forfeit for the ſmiles of a court, 'the dignity of high employment, or the affluence 'of a penſion.

'Nor, my Lords, whenever the neceſſities of 'my country require that I ſhould ſpeak my ſen-'timents with freedom, will I be awed into ſilence 'and ſubmiſſion, but will ſet any power at defi-'ance that ſhall dare to reſtrain me.

'I pretend not, my Lords, to be always in the 'right, I claim no other merit than that of mean-'ing well, and when I am convinced, after proper 'examination, that I am engaged on the ſide of

'truth,

'truth, I will trample on that inſolence that ſhall 'command me to ſuppreſs my ſentiments.

'When I reflect, my Lords, on the diſtreſſes 'of my country, when I obſerve the ſecurity and 'arrogance of thoſe whom I conſider as the au-'thors of the publick miſeries, I cannot always 'contain my reſentment; I may perhaps ſometimes 'ſtart out into unbecoming tranſports, and ſpeak 'in terms not very ceremonious of ſuch abandon'd 'ſuch deteſtable ——— But as this is, perhaps, 'not the language of the houſe, I ſhall endeavour 'to repreſs it, and hope that the bounds of de-'cency have never been ſo far tranſgreſſed by me 'that I ſhould be expoſed to the cenſure of your 'Lordſhips.'

The Earl of *Abingdon* next roſe and ſaid,

'My Lords,

'The preſent motion is undoubtedly juſt, but 'by no means neceſſary, or particularly adapted 'to the preſent time. It contains a general prin-'ciple, unconteſted, and eſtabliſhed. A principle 'which this aſſembly has never denied, and from 'which I know not that it has ever departed. Earl of *Abingdon*'s ſpeech.

'As there is therefore no particular neceſſity of 'confirming it by a new reſolution, and as the 'preſent time ſeems leſs proper than any other, I 'cannot but declare my opinion, that to reſume 'it, at ſome other time will be more prudent, 'than to give the Lords who think their conduct 'cenſured, any occaſion of reſentment or diſcon-'tent.'

Then the Lord *Carteret* ſpoke to the following effect.

'My Lords,

'The maxim laid down in the preſent motion, 'is in itſelf inconteſtable, and ſo far from any in- Lord *Carteret*'s ſpeech.

'conſiſtency with the former, that as there was 'no reaſon for making, there is, in my opinion, 'none for oppoſing it; as it may at any time be 'made, it may at any time be properly paſſed. 'And I hope that our unanimity on this occaſion 'will ſhow, that truth, however unſeaſonably ad-'vanced, will, in this houſe, be always received.

'But, leſt the noble Lords who have oppoſed 'the motion, ſhould think their honour engaged 'in continuing the oppoſition, I take the liberty, 'my Lords, to move that the previous queſtion 'may be put.'

Other Lords ſpoke on each ſide. At laſt the previous queſtion was put by the Lord Chancellor, who demanded, 'Is it your Lordſhips pleaſure, 'that the queſtion be how put? Thoſe Lords who 'are for it, ſay Content: Thoſe who are againſt 'it, ſay, Not Content. 'There was accordingly a cry of both; after which the Lord Chancellor declared, 'The Contents have it;' and ſome Lords replying, 'The Non Contents have it,' his Lordſhip ſaid, 'The Non Contents muſt go below the 'bar;' which is the manner of dividing the houſe. Thoſe who remained being told in their ſeats, and thoſe who went out being told at coming in again, there were Content 81, Not Content 54. So that the reſolution moved for paſſed without a diviſion.

Theſe two motions occaſioned the two following proteſts:

Diſſentient'

Proteſts upon theſe motions.

1. BECAUSE we are perſuaded that a ſole, or even a firſt miniſter, is an officer unknown to the law of *Britain*, inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of this country, and deſtructive of liberty in any government whatſoever; and it plainly appearing to us, that Sir *Robert Walpole* has, for many

many years acted, as ſuch, by taking upon himſelf the chief, if not the ſole direction of affairs, in the different branches of the adminiſtration, we could not but eſteem it to be our indiſpenſable duty, to offer our moſt humble advice to his Majeſty, for the removal of a miniſter ſo dangerous to the King and the kingdoms.

2. Becauſe we think it appear'd in the debate, that, in many inſtances, of infinite conſequence to the intereſt of the publick, he has groſly abuſed the exorbitant power which he illegally poſſeſſed himſelf of, particularly in the management of the publick treaſure. And this, we conceive, muſt plainly appear to every impartial perſon who recollects, that, for theſe twenty years paſt, this kingdom has paid the largeſt taxes that ever were impoſed upon it in the time of peace; and yet that the publick debts remain much as they ſtood at the time when this gentleman firſt entered upon the management of the treaſury; and that the civil liſt, alſo, the largeſt that was ever granted to the crown, is, as we have the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe, conſiderably in debt at this time.

3. Becauſe we conceive it was plainly proved in former debates, that the army, ſo greatly expenſive to this kingdom, and which only was granted by Parliament for the defence of it, had been managed, both as to rewards and puniſhments, in ſuch manner as to make it of no military uſe, but on the contrary, to render it ſubſervient, as we apprehend, to the very worſt of purpoſes, the influencing elections without doors, and votes within.

4. Becauſe we are perſuaded, that the vaſt ſums of money, granted on different heads for ſea-ſervice, cannot poſſibly have been faithfully applied; there having been as much money granted by Parliament in the laſt ſix or ſeven years, upon the ſeveral heads appliable to the repairing and rebuilding our ſhips, as would have been ſufficient to re-

build the whole fleet of *Britain* from the keels of the ſhips, and have put them thoroughly equipp'd to ſea: And yet it is moſt notoriouſly true, that, ſince this war began, a very great number of ſhips have appeared to be in the worſt condition for ſea-ſervice that ever were known to be in the memory of man, and many of them ſcarcely fit for *Spithead* expeditions; ſhips having ſailed out of the river, deſtin'd, as was pretended, for foreign ſervice, that have with difficulty been able to ſwim into the docks of *Portſmouth* or *Plymouth* for further repairs.

5. Becauſe we apprehend that, by the conduct of Sir *Robert Walpole*, in relation to foreign affairs during the courſe of his adminiſtration, the balance of power in *Europe* has been deſtroy'd; the houſe of *Bourbon* has been aggrandized in many inſtances, particularly by the addition of *Lorain*. The houſe of *Auſtria* has been depreſs'd by the loſs of part of the duchy of *Milan*, and the whole kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*: And if ſuch a change in the ſyſtem of *Europe*, occaſioned by the miſconduct of any miniſter whatſoever, would be criminal, we cannot think it the leſs ſo in one who join'd in the proſecution of the authors of the treaty of *Utrecht*, upon the particular charge of having reduced the houſe of *Auſtria* too low, and left the houſe of *Bourbon* too powerful.

6. Becauſe it is a fact not to be contradicted, that the *Spaniards* were permitted quietly to poſſeſs themſelves of the land belonging to our moſt important fortreſs of *Gibraltar*, which this kingdom was in poſſeſſion of, by virtue of the treaty of *Utrecht*, till the laſt ſiege of that place, by which permiſſion fortifications were erected, and batteries rais'd upon the ſaid ground by the *Spaniards*, whereby the uſe of the advantageous bay of *Gibraltar* is loſt to *England*, and our ſhips ever ſince forced to anchor both inconveniently and danger-

puſly under the walls of the town; and what naturally raiſes the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions in us of this unwarrantable proceeding, is, that a *Britiſh* Admiral, ſoon after, was at *Cadiz* with a powerful ſquadron of ſhips of the line, at the time the *Spaniards* thus unjuſtly broke their treaty, and that Admiral quietly and undiſturbed left them in poſſeſſion of that ground, and convoyed their troops to take poſſeſſion of the dominions of *Tuſcany*.

7. Becauſe the papers upon our table, delivered to this houſe from the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, do plainly prove, that Sir *Robert Walpole*, by publickly conniving for many years at the trade carried on with this nation from the port of *Dunkirk*, has given up the 9th article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, which we cannot but look upon as a high miſdemeanour, and the greater crime in him, that no man whatſoever declared himſelf with more paſſionate zeal than he did, againſt the authors of the treaty of *Utrecht*, for having favour'd *France* in moſt of the articles of that treaty; in conſequence of which behaviour, it became peculiarly his duty to preſerve inviolably thoſe articles in it, which were inconteſtably ſtipulated for the intereſt of this crown and nation.

Bridgwater,	*Cobham*,	*Haverſham*,
Weſtmoreland,	*Clinton*,	*Abingdon*,
Macclesfield,	*Denbigh*,	*St. John de Bletſoe*,
Litchfield,	*Falmouth*,	*Ward*,
Halifax,	*R. Lincoln*,	*Greenwich*,
R. Litch. and *Coventry*,	*Berkſhire*,	*Gower*,
Talbot,	*Aylesford*,	*Cheſterfield*,
Buccleugh,	*Beaufort*,	*Briſtol*,
Bruce,	*Carliſle*,	*Bedford*,
Manſel,	*Bathurſt*,	*Hereford*,
	Exeter,	

Then it was moved to reſolve, 'That any attempt to inflict any kind of puniſhment on any perſon,

'perſon, without allowing him an opportunity to 'make his defence, or without proof of any crime 'or miſdemeanour committed by him; is contrary 'to natural juſtice, the fundamental laws of this 'realm, and the ancient eſtabliſhed uſage of Par-'liament, and is a high infringement of the liber-'ties of the ſubject.'

And a queſtion being ſtated thereupon, after debate, the previous queſtion was put, Whether that queſtion ſhall be now put? It was reſolved in the affirmative. Content 81, Not Content 54.

Diſſentient

BECAUSE we think this queſtion ought not to have been put at this time, for though the propoſition contain'd in it is undoubtedly true in itſelf; yet we apprehend it to be nowiſe applicable to the point which had been ſo long debated the ſame day. For we conceive that publick utility may render it neceſſary that a perſon ſhould be removed from an office, and yet that removal cannot be deemed a puniſhment; for inſtance, in the caſe of incapacity. Surely then, wilful neglects, breach of duty, and evident malverſation in an office, may juſtly require this great council of ſtate to preſent an humble addreſs to his Majeſty for the removal of any perſon guilty of ſuch crimes, in order to prevent publick detriment. And we cannot apprehend, that the motion which occaſioned the former debate, was by any means void of proofs, ſince the treaties and papers referred to (being as records in the poſſeſſion of the houſe) and the notoriety of many facts alledged, were, in our opinion, equal to a cloud of witneſſes. For theſe reaſons, although we agree to the matter contain'd in the queſtion, and, acting in our judicial capacity, would never err from the rules laid down in it, yet we cannot but wiſh the queſtion had

had been laid aſide, leſt a wicked miniſter hereafter ſhould think himſelf ſecure in his office, if he cannot be brought perſonally to anſwer at the bar of this houſe, and witneſſes *viva voce*, cannot be produced.

Signed by the names as before, with the addition of *Sandwich*.

And the following is a liſt of the Lords who voted for and againſt the firſt motion.

Neuter.

PR. of Wales
Ld. Coventry
Belford
Clifton
Brook
Foley
Ld. Wilmington

Againſt the Addreſs.

BISHOPS.

Archb. Canterbury
Durham
Wincheſter
Rocheſter
Hereford
Sarum
St. David's
Glouceſter
Oxford
St. Aſaph
Norwich
Bangor
Briſtol
Chicheſter

Landaff
Ld. Chancellor
Ld. Privy-Seal
Ld. Steward
Ld. Chamberlain

DUKES.

Richmond
St. Albans
Bolton
Leeds
Devon
Marlborough
Rutland
Mountague
Athol
Ancaſter Mag. Cam.
Kingſton
Newcaſtle
Portland
Mancheſter
Chandos
Marqu. Lothian

EARLS.

Pembroke

Suffolk

Suffolk
Warwick
Peterborough
Eſſex
Radnor
Berkeley
Holderneſs
Rochford
Albemarle
Jerſey
Grantham
Godolphin
Cholmondeley
Sutherland
Morton
Loudon
Finlater
Dunmore
Hyndford
Portmore
Iſlay
Oxford
Dartmouth
Tankerville
Cowper
Harborough
Waldgrave
Fitzwalter
Effingham
Malton
V. Fauconberg
V. Weymouth
V. Lymington
V. Harcourt

LORDS.

Harrington
Abergavenny

Delawar
Dudley
Willoughby Par.
Hinton
Hervey
Cornwallis
Coventry
Hay
Onſlow
Cadogan
Ducie
Walpole
King
Hobart
Monſon
Lovell
Raymond

For the Addreſs.

DUKES.

Beaufort
Bedford
Greenwich
Buccleugh
Bridgwater

EARLS.

Exeter
Northampton
Denbigh
Weſtmoreland
Berkſhire
Stamford
Winchelſea
Thanet
Sandwich

Cheſter-

Cheſterfield	*LORDS.*
Carliſle	Clinton
Shaftſbury	North and Guilford
Litchfield	St. John of Bletſoe.
Abingdon	Bruce
Rockingham	Leigh
Aylesford	Ward
Briſtol	Craven
Halifax	Carteret
Stanhope	Haverſham
Macclesfield	Gower
Wakefield	Montjoy
Biſhop of Lincoln	Manſell
V. Hereford	Maſham
V. Cobham	Bathurſt
	Romney
	Talbot

The ſame day *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; ſtood up in the houſe of Commons, and ſpoke to this effect: Motion to the ſame effect in the houſe of Commons.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Among the many advantages ariſing 'from our happy form of government, there is 'one which is reciprocal to King and people, 'which is, a legal and regular method by which 'the people may lay their grievanees, com- 'plaints, and opinions, before their Sovereign, 'not only with regard to the meaſures he pur- 'ſues, but alſo with regard to the perſons he 'employs. In abſolute monarchies, the people 'may ſuffer, they may complain, but though 'their ſufferings be publick, their complaints 'muſt be private: They muſt not ſo much as 'murmur againſt their King's meaſures or mi- 'niſters; if they do, it is certain perdition to 'the few that are guilty of ſo much indiſcretion. 'This is a moſt terrible misfortune to the peo- 'ple in all abſolute monarchies, and occaſions Mr. *Sandys's* ſpeech.

'thoſe

'thoſe ſevere puniſhments and cruel tortures, 'which are ſo frequent in all ſuch; but it is 'a misfortune to the abſolute monarch, as well 'as to the people under his deſpotick ſway; for 'as he has no way of coming at the knowledge 'of the unpopularity of his meaſures or mini-'ſters, he often goes on purſuing the ſame mea-'ſures, or employing the ſame miniſters, till the 'diſcontents of his people become univerſal and 'furious; and then, by a general inſurrection, 'he and his miniſters are involved in one com-'mon ruin. However upright his intentions 'may have been, however much he may have 'been impoſed on by his miniſters, an impetu-'ous, domineering mob can ſeldom make any 'difference: The deſpotick monarch himſelf, 'and ſometimes his whole family, are borne 'down by the impetuoſity of the torrent, and 'become a ſacrifice to the reſentment of an in-'jured populace.

'In this kingdom, Sir, it can never be ſo, 'as long as the King allows Parliaments to ſit 'regularly and freely, and the members of this 'houſe perform faithfully the duty they owe to 'their King, their conſtituents, and their coun-'try. As members of this houſe, Sir, we are 'obliged to repreſent to his Majeſty, not only 'the grievances, but the ſentiments of the peo-'ple, with regard to the meaſures he purſues, 'and the perſons he adviſes with or employs in 'the executive part of our government; and 'therefore, whilſt we ſit here and do our duty, 'no general diſcontent can ariſe, without his 'Majeſty's being informed of its cauſes, and of 'the methods for allaying it: If we neglect to 'do ſo, or from ſelfiſh motives abſtain or delay 'giving his Majeſty a proper information and 'advice upon any ſuch occaſion, we neglect or 'betray not only our duty to our country and

'conſti-

'conſtituents, but alſo our duty to our Sove-
'reign.

'This, Sir, is my opinion; this muſt be the 'opinion of every man, who has a true notion of 'our conſtitution, and therefore I can no longer 'delay making you the motion, with which I 'ſhall conclude what I have to ſay upon this oc-'caſion. I believe, there is not a gentleman of 'this houſe, who is not ſenſible, that both the 'foreign and domeſtick meaſures of our govern-'ment, for ſeveral years paſt, have been diſſatis-'factory to a great majority of the nation, I may 'ſay to almoſt every man in the nation, who has 'not been concerned in adviſing or carrying them 'on. I believe, there is not a gentleman in this 'houſe, if he will freely declare his ſentiments, 'who is not ſenſible, that one ſingle perſon in the 'adminiſtration has not only been thought to be, 'but has actually been the chief, if not the ſole 'adviſer and promoter of all thoſe meaſures. 'This is known without doors, as well as it is 'within, and therefore the diſcontents, the re-'proaches, and even the curſes of the people, are 'all directed againſt that ſingle perſon. They 'complain of our preſent meaſures, they have 'ſuffer'd by paſt meaſures; they expect no re-'dreſs; they expect no alteration or amendment, 'whilſt he has a ſhare in adviſing or directing our 'future. Theſe, Sir, are the ſentiments of the 'people with regard to that miniſter: Theſe ſen-'timents we are in honour and duty bound to re-'preſent to his Majeſty; and the proper method 'for doing this, as eſtabliſhed by our conſtitution, 'is to addreſs his Majeſty to remove him from his 'councils.

'Sir, if the general diſcontent, which hath a-'riſen againſt this miniſter, were but of yeſterday, 'or without any juſt and ſolid foundation, I 'ſhould expect it would ſoon blow over, and

'therefore

'therefore ſhould not think it worthy of the no-
'tice of Parliament; but it has laſted for ſo many
'years, was at firſt ſo well founded, and has every
'year ſince been gathering, from his conduct, ſo
'much additional ſtrength, that I have for ſeveral
'ſeſſions expected ſuch a motion, as I am now to
'make, from ſome other gentleman, more capable
'than I am to enforce what he propoſes; but as
'no gentleman has hitherto attempted it, and as
'this is the laſt ſeſſion of this Parliament, I was
'unwilling it ſhould expire without anſwering the
'people's expectations, which, in this reſpect, are
'ſo juſt, ſo well founded, and ſo agreeable to our
'conſtitution; therefore, I hope I ſhall be excuſed
'for attempting what I think my duty, as a mem-
'ber of this houſe, and as a friend to our preſent
'happy eſtabliſhment.

'After what I have ſaid, Sir, I believe no
'gentleman can miſtake the perſon I mean: I am
'convinced every one ſuppoſes I mean the ho-
'nourable gentleman, who ſits upon the floor,
'over-againſt me; and the whole houſe may ſee,
'he takes it to himſelf. Againſt him there is, I
'believe, as general a popular diſcontent, as ever
'was againſt any miniſter in this kingdom; and
'this diſcontent has laſted ſo long, that I muſt
'ſay, his having withſtood it for ſo many years,
'is no great ſign of the freedom of our govern-
'ment; for a free people neither will nor can be
'governed by a miniſter they hate or deſpiſe. As
'I am only to propoſe an addreſs to remove him
'from his Majeſty's councils, I have no occaſion
'to accuſe him of any crime: The people's being
'generally diſſatisfied with him, and ſuſpicious of
'his conduct, is a ſufficient foundation for ſuch an
'addreſs, and a ſufficient cauſe for his Majeſty's
'removing him from his councils; becauſe, no
'Sovereign of theſe kingdoms ought to employ a
'miniſter, who is become diſagreeable to the ge-
'nerality

'nerality of the people; and when any miniſter 'happens to become ſo, it is our duty to inform 'his Majeſty of it, that he may give ſatisfaction 'to his people, by the removal of ſuch a miniſter.

'However, Sir, though I ſhall not at preſent 'charge this miniſter with any particular crime, I 'muſt beg leave to examine a little into his con-'duct, in order to ſhew, that the diſcontents of 'the people are not without foundation; and if it 'be true, what was and is ſtill generally ſuppoſed, 'it muſt be allowed, that the methods, by which 'he firſt advanced himſelf to the high offices he 'has ever ſince enjoy'd, were ſuch as could not 'but be offenſive to every honeſt man in the na-'tion. The making and unmaking the famous '*Bank* contract; the ſcreening from condign pu-'niſhment thoſe who, by their wicked and avari-'tious execution of the truſt repoſed in them by 'the *South-Sea* ſcheme, had ruin'd many thou-'ſands: The lumping of publick juſtice, and ſub-'jecting the leſs guilty to a puniſhment too ſevere, 'in order that the moſt heinous offenders might 'eſcape the puniſhment they deſerved; and the 'giving up to the *South-Sea* company the ſum of 'ſeven millions Sterling, which they had obliged 'themſelves to pay to the publick, a great part 'of which ſum was given to old ſtock-holders, 'and conſequently, to thoſe who had never ſuf-'fered by the ſcheme; were the ſteps by which 'he was ſuppoſed to have riſen to power, and 'ſuch ſteps could not but raiſe a general diſtaſte at 'his advancement, and a dread of his adminiſtra-'tion.

'Thus, Sir, he entered into the adminiſtration 'with the general diſapprobation of the people; 'and, I am ſure, his meaſures ſince have been far 'from reſtoring him to their love or eſteem. As 'he began, ſo he has gone on, oppreſſing the in-'nocent, impoſing upon the credulous, ſcreening

'the guilty, waſting the publick treaſure, and endangering the liberties of the people. All this 'I could evince from every ſtep of his adminiſtration, from the beginning to this very day, but 'I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome general obſervations, and ſome of the moſt remarkable inſtances. 'In general I ſhall obſerve, that by his advice and 'influence a much greater army has all along been 'kept up than was neceſſary for the ſupport of 'our government, or conſiſtent with our conſtitution, and even that army often augmented without any real cauſe: That many ſquadrons have 'been fitted out, to the great expence of the nation, and general diſturbance of our trade, without any juſt cauſe, and, I believe, without ſo 'much as a deſign to employ them effectually, 'either againſt our enemies, or for the aſſiſtance 'of our allies: That every method propoſed of 'late years for ſecuring our conſtitution againſt its 'moſt dangerous enemy, corruption, has been by 'his means rejected, or rendered ineffectual; 'whilſt on the other hand, many penal laws have 'been paſſed, which have reduced a great number 'of his Majeſty's ſubjects under the arbitrary 'power of a miniſter and his creatures: That almoſt every article of publick expence has been 'increaſed by the addition of new and uſeleſs officers; and all inquiries into the management of 'any publick money, either prevented or defeated: That votes of credit at the end of a ſeſſion 'of Parliament, which have always been thought 'of dangerous conſequence to our conſtitution, 'have by him been made ſo frequent, that few 'ſeſſions have paſſed without one. That the expence of the civil liſt has been vaſtly increaſed 'ſince the beginning of his adminiſtration, though 'it was then much greater than it had ever amounted to in former times. To theſe, Sir, 'which are all of a domeſtick nature, I ſhall add,

'with

'with regard to our foreign affairs, that ever ſince 'his advice began to be prevalent in our foreign 'affairs, the trade and particular intereſt of this 'nation have in all treaties and negotiations been 'neglected, the confidence of our moſt natural 'allies diſregarded, and the favour of our moſt 'dangerous enemies courted; and that to this 'moſt unaccountable conduct, the preſent melan-'choly ſituation of the affairs of *Europe* is princi-'pally to be aſcribed.

'I know, Sir, it will be objected, that as every 'material ſtep in the late conduct of our publick 'affairs, either at home or abroad, has been au-'thorized or approved of by Parliament, what I 'have ſaid, muſt be look'd on as a general charge 'againſt his Majeſty's councils and our Parlia-'ments, rather than as a perſonal charge againſt 'any one miniſter; but this upon a due conſidera-'tion becomes the moſt heavy, and the moſt evi-'dent charge againſt the miniſter I aim at. Ac-'cording to our conſtitution, we can have no ſole 'and prime miniſter: We ought always to have 'ſeveral prime miniſters or officers of ſtate: Every 'ſuch officer has his own proper department; and 'no officer ought to meddle in the affairs belong-'ing to the department of another. But it is 'publickly known, that this miniſter having ob-'tained a ſole influence over all our publick coun-'cils, has not only aſſumed the ſole direction of 'all publick affairs, but has got every officer of 'ſtate removed that would not follow his direc-'tion, even in the affairs belonging to his own 'proper department. By this means he has mo-'nopolized all the favours of the crown, and en-'groſſed the ſole diſpoſal of all places, penſions, 'titles, and ribbons, as well as of all preferments, 'civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical.

'This, Sir, is of itſelf a moſt heinous offence 'againſt our conſtitution; but he has greatly ag-

'gravated the heinouſneſs of this crime; for having thus monopolized all the favours of the 'crown, he has made a blind ſubmiſſion to his 'direction at elections and in Parliament, the only 'ground to hope for any honours or preferments, 'and the only tenure by which any gentleman 'could preſerve what he had. This is ſo notoriouſly known, that it can ſtand in need of no 'proof. Have not many deſerving gentlemen 'been diſappointed in the preferment they had a 'juſt title to, upon the bare ſuſpicion of not being 'blindly devoted to his perſonal intereſt? Have 'not ſome perſons of the higheſt rank and moſt 'illuſtrious characters been diſplaced, for no other 'reaſon than becauſe they diſdained to ſacrifice 'their honour and conſcience to his direction in 'Parliament? As no crime, no neglect, no miſbehaviour could ever be objected to them, as no 'other reaſon could ever be aſſigned for depriving 'the crown of their ſervice, this only could be 'the reaſon. Nay, has not this miniſter himſelf 'not only confeſſed it, but boaſted of it? Has he 'not ſaid, and in this houſe too, That he would 'be a pitiful fellow of a miniſter who did not diſplace any officer that oppoſed his meaſures in 'Parliament?

'Can any gentleman who heard this declaration 'deſire a proof of the miniſter's miſconduct, or 'of his crimes? Was not this openly avowing 'one of the moſt heinous crimes that can be committed by a miniſter in this kingdom? Was it 'not avowing that he had made uſe of the favours of the crown for obtaining a corrupt majority in both houſes of Parliament, and keeping 'that majority in a ſlaviſh dependence upon himſelf alone? Do not we all know, that even the 'King himſelf is not, by our conſtitution, to take 'notice of any man's behaviour in Parliament, far 'leſs to make that behaviour a means by which

'he

'he is to obtain, or a tenure by which he is to 'hold the favour of the crown? And ſhall we al- 'low a miniſter not only to do, but openly to a- 'vow, what he ought to be hanged for, ſhould 'he adviſe his Sovereign to do? It is by means of 'this crime, Sir, that the miniſter I am ſpeaking 'of has obtained the authority or approbation of 'Parliament in every ſtep of his conduct, and 'therefore that authority or approbation is ſo far 'from being an alleviation, that it is a moſt heavy 'aggravation of every wrong ſtep which he has 'thus got authorized or approved of by Parlia- 'ment. For this reaſon, in conſidering any par- 'ticular ſtep of his conduct, its being authorized 'or approved by Parliament, can have no weight 'in his favour, whatever it may have againſt him. 'If the ſtep was in itſelf weak or wicked, or if it 'now appears from its conſequences to have been 'ſo, its having been approved of, or authorized 'by Parliament, muſt be ſuppoſed to have pro- 'ceeded either from his having miſled the Parlia- 'ment by falſe gloſſes and aſſeverations, or from 'his having over-awed a majority by means of 'that crime which he has ſince openly avowed.

'Having thus obviated an objection that may 'be made againſt any particular accuſation, as well 'as againſt the general accuſations I have already 'mentioned, I ſhall juſt hint at ſome of the par- 'ticular branches of miſconduct he has been guilty 'of in the long courſe of his adminiſtration; and 'among theſe, the ſmall progreſs we have made 'in the diſcharge of our publick debt moſt juſtly 'deſerves the firſt place. It is really ſurprizing, 'that the national debt ſhould now be as much, 'if not more than it was in the year 1725, when 'our miniſter firſt took it into his head to pull 'down the overgrown power of the houſe of '*Auſtria*. In the year 1716, the publick debt was 'computed to amount to no more than 47,894,950*l.*

'but by ſome articles then omitted, and by 'many extraordinary allowances afterwards made, 'eſpecially thoſe relating to army debentures, in 'which this gentleman had a very remarkable 'ſhare, the publick debt as it then ſtood was made 'to amount to 51,000,000 *l.* Of this ſum there 'was, in or before the year 1725, paid off about '5,000,000 *l.* which reduced it to 46,000,000 *l.* 'and as the ſinking fund was to receive a great 'addition in the year 1727, by the reduction of 'intereſt, we had a proſpect of having a great 'part of our publick debts paid off in a few years, 'eſpecially as the tranquillity of *Europe*, or at leaſt 'of this nation, ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed by the 'treaty concluded that year at *Vienna*, between 'the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. But our 'miniſter was, it ſeems, ſenſible of the power 'and influence he acquired by means of this load 'of debt, and by the many taxes impoſed for the 'payment of it. He knew that theſe taxes, 'while they continue, muſt always make a great 'number of officers and placemen neceſſary, and 'as he had the placing, preferring, and diſplacing 'of all theſe officers at his arbitrary will and plea-'ſure, he knew what weight this gave to his in-'fluence, both at elections and in Parliament. 'For this reaſon, he has employed all his art to 'prevent our being able to pay off any part of 'our old debt, or if we paid off with one hand, 'he has taken care to make us contract as much 'with the other; ſo that the national debt is now 'much about the ſame, or rather more than it 'was in the year 1725, though the nation has 'never, in all that time, been involved in any 'extraordinary expence, but what has been unne-'ceſſarily brought upon it by his art or miſcon-'duct.

'I ſay, Sir, his art or miſconduct, either of 'which is certainly a moſt ſufficient cauſe to re-

'move him from his Majeſty's councils; but I am 'apt to believe, there was ſomething of art or 'deſign, as well as miſconduct in it; for he really 'ſeems to have been afraid of having our debts 'diminiſhed, for fear of the conſequence, which 'muſt have been that of aboliſhing ſome of our 'moſt burdenſome and pernicious taxes; otherwiſe 'it was impoſſible he could have taken ſo much 'pains as he did, to defeat a ſcheme offered a few 'years ſince by a worthy member of this houſe*, 'for reducing the intereſt payable upon the na-'tional debt, and for putting the whole upon a 'certain footing of being diſcharged in a courſe of 'years, without its being in the power of any 'ſuch miniſter as he to prevent it. To find fault 'with the defeating of this ſcheme, may likewiſe 'be ſaid to be an accuſation brought againſt this 'very Parliament; but it is well known by whom, 'and by whoſe influence it was defeated. I am 'pretty ſure, it is the general opinion without 'doors, that it was not by the influence of argu-'ment; but if the defeat was owing to that in-'fluence, as I hope it was, I am convinced, that 'moſt of thoſe who were ſwayed by that influ-'ence, are now ſenſible of their error, and hearti-'ly wiſh they had conſidered better of it; for I 'am afraid, we ſhall never again meet with ſo fa-'vourable an opportunity.

'But, Sir, the next ſtep of miſconduct I ſhall 'take notice of, is of a different nature; it is a 'ſtep that happened not to meet with the appro-'bation of Parliament, though I do not queſtion 'its having been ſupported and enforced by all 'the methods uſual, of late years, in ſuch caſes. 'I make no doubt but that every one, who poſ-'ſeſſed or hoped for any place or office under the 'crown, were threatned with a diſappointment to 'their hopes, or the loſs of the places they poſ-'ſeſſed, if they voted againſt it; and my reaſon

* Sir *John Barnard*.

'for not doubting of this is, becauſe ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen were the very next year 'turned out of every place the crown could take 'from them, for no other apparent reaſon, but 'becauſe they or their friends voted againſt that 'miniſterial project; and ſo far as I can recollect, 'I do not remember, that any one who voted a-'gainſt it, has ever ſince obtained a favour from 'the crown, unleſs it be ſuch, as have by their 'conduct ſince ſhewn, that they heartily repented 'of their ſtubbornneſs at that time. I believe, 'every one that hears me will ſuppoſe, I mean 'the Exciſe Scheme, which was certainly one of 'the weakeſt, or one of the wickedeſt projects 'that was ever ſet on foot, or countenanc'd, by 'any miniſter in this kingdom. If our miniſter 'was ſenſible of the great power that ſcheme 'would have placed in the hands of a miniſter, 'and had really formed a deſign to overturn by 'that means the liberties of the people, he ought 'to be not only removed, but puniſhed for his 'wickedneſs; and if he was not ſenſible of the 'danger that would accrue from that ſcheme to 'our conſtitution, if he had really no view, but 'the precarious hope of thereby making a little 'addition to the publick revenue, particularly the 'civil liſt, I muſt ſay, his weakneſs was amazing; 'for it ſhewed, that he neither underſtood the 'genius of our conſtitution, nor the genius of our 'people. If he had underſtood the genius of our 'conſtitution, he could not but be ſenſible of the 'deſtructive effects that ſcheme muſt neceſſarily 'have had upon it: If he had underſtood the ge-'nius of our people, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, 'he would have adviſed his Majeſty to have for-'feited the affections of the whole people, for the 'ſake of making an uncertain, and at beſt, but a 'trifling addition to the publick, or the civil liſt 'revenue.

'Thus,

'Thus, Sir, if he had never been guilty of any 'other crime or overſight, for this project alone 'he deſerves at leaſt to be removed from his Ma'jeſty's councils; and the reſentment he ſhewed 'againſt thoſe, who voted againſt this his fa'vourite ſcheme, is a proof of what he now pub'lickly avows, that he has made uſe of, that he 'will make uſe of the favours of the crown, for 'obtaining a corrupt majority in both houſes of 'Parliament. What happened upon this occaſion, 'is an evident demonſtration, that he has by ſuch 'means already got, in a great meaſure, the no'mination of the ſixteen Peers to repreſent the 'Peerage of *Scotland* in the other houſe of Parlia'ment. We may remember, that ſeven or eight 'of the ſixteen, who then ſat in the other houſe, 'declar'd openly againſt this ſcheme, and prevail'ed with moſt of their friends in this, to vote a'gainſt it: What was the conſequence? Every 'one of them, though they had great perſonal 'intereſt among the Peers of *Scotland*, were, at 'the next election, excluded by this miniſter's in'tereſt from being rechoſen; and every one of 'them that enjoyed any poſt during the pleaſure 'of the crown, had the honour to be diſmiſſed 'his Majeſty's ſervice; I ſay, the honour, becauſe, 'in ſuch a caſe, I think it is the greateſt honour 'the crown can beſtow.

'It would be endleſs, Sir, to recount every 'falſe ſtep this miniſter has made in the conduct 'of our domeſtick affairs, and therefore I ſhall 'mention only one more, which is the ſeeming 'approbation he procured, but two years ago, 'from Parliament, of that convention which he 'had juſt before concluded with *Spain*. As the 'convention itſelf relates to our foreign affairs, I 'ſhall not here enter into the merits of it, I ſhall 'here conſider only the method he took to obtain 'a ſeeming approbation of it from Parliament,

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'which was by the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations, that 'the *Spaniſh* court was ſenſible of its having been 'in the wrong to this nation, that its agreeing to 'pay 200,000 *l.* as he reckoned it, to us in name 'of damages, was an acknowledgment of its ha-'ving been in the wrong; and that his Catholick 'Majeſty and his miniſters were ſtrongly and ſin-'cerely inclined to do us juſtice, with regard to 'the future ſecurity of our trade and navigation 'in the *American* ſeas; from whence he conclu-'ded, that though we had not got all we might 'expect by the convention, which was but a pre-'liminary treaty, yet it was a good foundation to 'build on, and might probably, if the houſe a-'greed to the addreſs then moved for, produce a 'ſolid and laſting peace; whereas, if the addreſs 'ſhould be diſagreed to, the immediate conſe-'quence would be a war with *Spain*.

'I may appeal, Sir, almoſt to every gentleman 'that hears me, if this was not the ſtrength of 'the argument in favour of that addreſs: I may 'appeal to many that voted for it, if their de-'pending upon the truth of theſe aſſeverations 'was not the only reaſon for their agreeing to ſo 'much as a ſeeming approbation of that infamous 'convention; but from the conſequences, and 'likewiſe from the papers, imperfect as they are, 'laid before us, it now appears, that there was 'not the leaſt ground for any of theſe aſſevera-'tions. It appears, that *Spain* inſiſted upon ha-'ving our navigation in the *American* ſeas regu-'lated, that is to ſay, they inſiſted it ſhould not 'be free: That *Spain* inſiſted upon our *South-Sea* 'company's paying them a moſt unjuſt demand 'of 68,000 *l.* which reduced the ſum they were 'to pay us by the convention, to 27,000 *l.* and 'this was not near the value of the ſhips they 'had before acknowledged to have been unjuſtly 'taken from us, and had actually diſpatched or-

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'ders to the *Weſt-Indies* for their reſtitution, as 'appears upon the face of the convention itſelf; 'ſo that their agreeing to pay this ſum was far 'from being even a tacit acknowledgment of their 'having no right to ſtop and ſearch our ſhips 'upon the high ſeas, and to ſeize and confiſcate 'them, if they had any of thoſe goods on board, 'which the *Spaniards* are pleaſed to call contra-'band: It was only an acknowledgment, that 'ſome of our ſhips had been, even upon this foot-'ing, unjuſtly ſeized, which the *Spaniſh* court had 'expreſsly acknowledged, long before the con-'vention was thought of: Theſe, Sir, were the 'terms the *Spaniards* inſiſted on; and they farther 'inſiſted, as now plainly appears, that we ſhould 'keep no ſquadron at *Gibraltar* or *Port-Mahon*, 'notwithſtanding their being now a part of the '*Britiſh* dominions; from whence they would, I 'ſuppoſe, have taken occaſion in a ſhort time to 'inſiſt, againſt us at leaſt, that they had a domi-'nion over the *Mediterranean*, as well as the *A-'merican* ſeas, and that our ſhips ſhould not ſail in 'the former no more than in the latter, but by 'their leave, and according to ſuch directions, or 'if you pleaſe regulations, as they ſhould pre-'ſcribe.

'Theſe, I ſay, Sir, were the terms of peace the '*Spaniards* inſiſted on: Unleſs we ſhould agree to 'theſe hard and diſhonourable terms, the *Spaniſh* 'court never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to live in 'peace with us, as appears from the whole tenor 'of our negotiations previous to the convention. 'Can we ſuppoſe, that our prime and ſole miniſter 'was ignorant of this? Can we ſuppoſe, that he 'believed or imagined, that a ſafe and honourable 'peace could be concluded with *Spain* upon the 'footing of the convention, or upon any other 'footing, whilſt they continued to inſiſt upon 'ſuch conditions? What then can we think of

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'the argument he made uſe of for obtaining 'from Parliament a ſort of approbation of his 'convention? Muſt not we conclude, that for 'this purpoſe he aſſerted what he knew to be 'falſe? And ſhall we ſuffer a man to ſit, and to 'bear the chief ſway in the councils of our So-'vereign, who, in order to impoſe a diſhonou-'rable treaty upon his King and country, aſſert-'ed in open Parliament what he knew to be 'abſolutely falſe?

'I ſhall now beg leave, Sir, to take notice of 'ſome of the moſt remarkable errors, if not 'crimes, in our miniſter's conduct, with regard 'to foreign affairs. Here too his adminiſtration 'began with a meaſure that could not but be diſ-'agreeable to the people, becauſe it was diſho-'nourable to the nation: It began with a treaty 'of peace with *Spain*, by which we agreed to re-'ſtore the ſhips we had taken from that nation in 'an open and juſt war; and with a negotiation, I 'ſhall not ſay an engagement, to reſtore *Gibral-'tar* and *Port-Mahon*, without ſtipulating any 'thing for the advantage of this nation, or ob-'taining an explanation of thoſe treaties, which 'even then had begun to be miſrepreſented on 'the part of *Spain*. Soon after this, he entered 'into that cloſe friendſhip and correſpondence 'with the court of *France*, which, to the infinite 'diſadvantage of this nation, has continued ever 'ſince, and which has now at laſt brought the 'balance of power into the utmoſt danger, if 'not to inevitable ruin. But the moſt remarka-'ble and the moſt pernicious of all his pernici-'ous meaſures was, the conceit he took into his 'head in the year 1725, that the houſe of *Au-'ſtria* was grown too powerful, and ought there-'fore to be pulled down. This conceit, whe-'ther his own, or of *French* original, made him 'infuſe into his late Majeſty thoſe frightful no-

'tions of the dangerous but impracticable engagements, which the Emperor and *Spain* had 'entered into, by the treaty concluded between 'them at *Vienna* in that year; and this produc'd 'the treaty of *Hanover*, which loaded this nation with the expence of ſeveral uſeleſs ſquadrons, a great addition of uſeleſs regular 'troops, and which was the moſt uſeleſs of all, 'a great body of *Heſſian* troops for ſeveral years, 'and large ſubſidies to foreign Princes, whilſt 'our allies the *French*, who had certainly more 'to fear than we had, from that conjunction 'between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, 'neither put themſelves to any expence, nor 'pick'd any quarrels either with *Spain* or the 'Emperor; but purſued their trade in ſafety, 'during the time that our trade to *Spain* was intirely ſtopt, and our trade to every other part 'of the world interrupted by *Spaniſh* privateers, 'fitted out and manned by *French* ſubjects.

'I need not mention particularly the ſeveral 'negotiations, preliminaries, pacifications, conventions and treaties, which this treaty of *Ha*'nover* gave birth to; for every negotiation we 'have carried on, and every treaty we have 'concluded ſince that time, may be ſaid to proceed from that original; and every one of 'them may juſtly be called a true copy of the 'original. They have been a perfect ſeries of 'blunders, and, like a neſt of pill-boxes from '*Germany*, ſeem to be incloſed in one another, 'with nothing but emptineſs in any of them; 'for I defy any man to ſhew me one advantage 'this nation has reaped from any treaty we have 'negotiated for twenty years paſt. From the 'laſt treaty, indeed, I mean the convention, it 'may be ſaid, we have reaped ſome advantage, 'becauſe it forc'd us into a war, which is certainly more eligible than the deſtructive and

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'diſhonourable method of negotiation, we had 'for ſo many years before been involved in; 'and this war might have been attended with a 'real advantage, if our miniſter had thought fit 'to puſh it, either with vigour or common 'diſcretion; but in the proſecution of the war 'he has acted, if poſſible, more weakly or 'more wickedly, than he did in time of peace: 'In time of peace, he made us become the 'ſcoff of the nations around us, by the tedi-'ouſneſs and the perplexity of his negotiations: 'In time of war, he has made us an object of 'ſcorn to our enemies, and an object of pity to 'our friends, by the vaſtneſs of his preparati-'ons and the puſillanimity of his actions. Our 'trade has been both oppreſſed and neglected 'for the ſake of fitting out mighty ſquadrons, 'and our ſquadrons have been ſent out, either 'with orders to do nothing, or without materi-'als proper for doing any thing. By this con-'duct, Sir, our enemies have been inriched 'with our ſpoils, and our own people oppreſſed 'with armies, which either ſhould not have 'been raiſed, or ſhould have been ſent out to 'vindicate the honour of their country. Shall 'we in this houſe ſit ſtill, and ſee the councils 'of our Sovereign directed by a miniſter, who 'has thus, both in peace and war, expoſed our 'country to ſcorn and deriſion?

'I beg pardon, Sir, for taking up ſo much 'of your time; but the ſubject is ſo copious, 'that it is difficult to pick out thoſe facts that 'are moſt proper to be mentioned; and every 'part of his long adminiſtration is full of ſuch 'oppreſſive and dangerous ſchemes, or ſuch un-'accountable blunders, that it is not eaſy for 'one who has a true regard for his King and 'country, to paſs any of them over in ſilence. 'I have mentioned but a few: What I have

'men-

'mentioned will ſhew, that the diſcontents of 'the people are far from being groundleſs; but 'ſuppoſe they were, they would nevertheleſs 'be a ſufficient foundation for the addreſs I am 'to propoſe; for no man who has been ſo un-'fortunate, as to incur the publick hatred, ought 'to have any ſhare in his Majeſty's confidence 'or councils. If his Majeſty were ſenſible of 'it, I am ſure, he has ſuch a regard for the af-'fections of his people, that he would not al-'low ſuch a man to approach his perſon or pa-'lace; and as it is our duty to inform his Ma-'jeſty, how deteſtable this miniſter is to the 'majority of his people, we ought to take the 'proper way for giving our Sovereign this in-'formation, which is by addreſſing him to re-'move ſuch a miniſter from his councils.

'But farther, Sir, ſuppoſe this miniſter had 'never been guilty of any crime, error, or o-'verſight in his publick conduct; ſuppoſe the 'people had all along been perfectly pleas'd 'with his adminiſtration, yet the very length of 'it is, in a free country, ſufficient cauſe for re-'moving him. It is a moſt dangerous thing in 'a free government, to allow any man to con-'tinue too long in the poſſeſſion of great power: 'Moſt commonwealths have been overturned by 'this very overſight; and in this country, we 'know how difficult it has often proved, for 'our Parliament to draw an old favourite from 'behind the throne, even when he has been 'guilty of the moſt heinous crimes. I wiſh this 'may not be our caſe at preſent; for though I 'ſhall not ſay, nor have I at preſent any occa-'ſion for ſhewing, that the favourite I am now 'complaining of has been guilty of heinous 'crimes, yet I will ſay, that there is a very 'general ſuſpicion againſt him, that this ſuſpi-'cion is juſtified by the preſent ſituation of our

'affairs

'affairs both at home and abroad, and that it is 'ridiculous to expect, that any proper diſcovery 'ſhould be made, as long as he is in poſſeſſion 'of all the proofs, and has the diſtribution of 'all the penalties the crown can inflict, as well 'as of all the favours the crown can beſtow. 'Remove him from the King's councils and 'preſence; remove him from thoſe high offices 'and power he is now poſſeſſed of, if he has 'been guilty of any crimes, the proofs may 'then be come at, and the witneſſes againſt him 'will not be afraid to appear: Till you do this, 'it is impoſſible to determine, whether he is 'guilty or innocent; and, conſidering the uni-'verſal clamour againſt him, it is high time to 'reduce him to ſuch a condition, as that he 'may be brought to a fair, an impartial, and 'a ſtrict account. If he were conſcious of his 'being intirely innocent, and had a due regard 'to the ſecurity and glory of his Maſter and 'Sovereign, he would have choſe to have put 'himſelf into this condition long before this 'time: Since he has not thought fit to do ſo, 'it is our duty to endeavour to do it for him; 'and therefore I ſhall conclude with moving, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his "Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed "to remove the right honourable Sir *Robert* "*Walpole*, Knight of the moſt noble order of "the garter, firſt commiſſioner for executing "the office of treaſurer of the exchequer, "chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exche-"quer, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honour-"able privy council, from his Majeſty's pre-"ſence and councils for ever."

Then it was moved, That the Journal of the houſe of the 18th day of *December* 1685, of the 18th day of *November* 1689, of the 7th day of

of *December*, and 16th day of *February* 1693, and of the 9th day of *November* 1696, in relation to the proceedings of the houſe, in the caſe of *John Cook*, Eſq; Captain *Churchill*, the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, and Mr. *Manley*, members of the houſe, might be read; and the ſame being read accordingly, and the motion ſeconded, there was a debate, whether Sir *Robert Walpole* ſhould be heard in his place, and then withdraw; but this being carried in the negative, *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; ſpoke to the merits of the firſt queſtion as follows, *viz.*

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, As we have often been threatned with ſome ſuch motion as this, I have for a long time expected it with impatience, becauſe I imagined, they who thus threatned, had made ſome diſcoveries, which the world had never been in the leaſt appriſed of. I little expected they would have attempted to blacken the character of an honourable gentleman, who has ſerved his country for many years, in many high offices, and in three ſeveral reigns, and always, in my opinion, with great wiſdom and integrity: I ſay, I little expected to find any attempt made to blacken ſuch a gentleman's character, upon bare ſurmiſes and general arguments, which have been all fully anſwered, again and again, both within doors and without; and I muſt ſay, I am very much ſurpriſed to find this attempt made by gentlemen, who have never been ſuſpected of being enemies to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment. If the nation had now again been ſo unfortunate, as to have a majority of this houſe conſiſting of ſuch as were ſecret enemies to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, I ſhould not have wondered

Mr. *Pelham*'s ſpeech.

'dered to find this gentleman's character at-
'tack'd, as it has been once before by ſuch
'men: I ſhould not have wondered to have
'heard a motion made for removing him from
'his Majeſty's councils and preſence, for this
'very reaſon, becauſe he has ſhewn, that he de-
'ſerves to be there; but I am ſurpriſed to hear
'ſuch a motion made by thoſe, who have al-
'ways profeſſed, and I believe, ſincerely pro-
'feſſed themſelves friends to our happy con-
'ſtitution, and to that upon which it depends,
'our preſent happy eſtabliſhment; becauſe ſuch
'a motion upon ſuch a ſlender foundation I
'take to be inconſiſtent with both.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that this houſe may ad-
'dreſs the King to remove any one of his ſer-
'vants: I ſhall grant, we have precedents for
'ſuch an addreſs; but I will ſay, the precedents
'are very few, and I believe, no one upon our
'journals for removing a miniſter, who was not
'accuſed of ſomething that was acknowledged
'to be a crime. Is this the caſe at preſent?
'Has the honourable gentleman who made you
'the motion, mentioned any one particular fact
'that is acknowledg'd to be a crime? He ſays,
'the gentleman he deſires to be removed, is an
'unpopular miniſter: That he has incurred the
'hatred of the people in general; and that no
'man ought to be continued in his Majeſty's
'councils or preſence, who has had the misfor-
'tune to do ſo. This argument, Sir, has, I
'think, the misfortune to labour under two im-
'perfections. The premiſes I muſt look on, as
'a ſort of begging the queſtion; and the con-
'cluſion is not, I think, deducible from the
'premiſes. The honourable gentleman, whoſe
'conduct is the ſubject of this debate, may not,
'perhaps, be the minion of the mob, which no

'miniſter

'miniſter ever can, who purſues wiſely, ſteadily, and invariably, the true intereſt of his country; eſpecially, if he continues for a great number of years to have a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration: The populace in all countries love to be diverted with changes, and aſtoniſhed with extraordinary events; and therefore they are apt to grow weary of a miniſter, who continues long in place, and does not, with or without reaſon, involve his country in war, which is the only method by which he can entertain them with wonderful events. But that this gentleman has incurred the hatred of the better ſort of people in general, I believe, will appear to be a miſtake, by the fate of this very motion; for as the members of this houſe are their repreſentatives, I ſhall always judge of their ſentiments by what appears to be the ſentiments of the majority of this aſſembly.

'However, ſuppoſe, Sir, it were indubitably true, that this miniſter had incurred the diſpleaſure of the majority of all ranks of people, I do not think this a good reaſon for branding his character with ſuch a ſtigma, as an addreſs of this houſe to remove him from his Majeſty's councils and preſence for ever. A famous poet, who ſhewed himſelf a good politician, as well as an excellent judge of mankind, has, in talking of a virtuous man, laid this down as a maxim;

Non ſumit, aut ponit ſecures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

'The people, even thoſe of the better ſort, are but very bad judges of a man's virtue or wiſdom, and they are much worſe judges of a miniſter's conduct in political affairs; for in order to judge rightly of this, we muſt have a

'thorough knowledge, not only of the intereſts
'and circumſtances of our own country, but of
'the circumſtances, intereſts, and views of all
'the foreign courts we have any thing to do
'with; and in order to know the views of fo-
'reign courts, we muſt be perfectly acquainted
'with the characters of thoſe who bear the
'principal ſway at each. Can we ſuppoſe any
'man of inferior rank to have ſuch a know-
'ledge? It is a knowledge, Sir, that can be ac-
'quired by none but thoſe of high rank, or
'ſuch as have been in ſome eminent ſtation;
'and therefore we are not to condemn the con-
'duct of a miniſter, for no other reaſon but be-
'cauſe it is complained of by the majority of
'the people, nor ought ſuch a general com-
'plaint to be admitted as a good reaſon for re-
'moving him from the King's councils or pre-
'ſence. Among the many other perfections of
'our conſtitution, this is one, and none of the
'leaſt, that the commonwealth is not to be de-
'prived of the ſervice or advice of a wiſe and
'faithful magiſtrate or miniſter, for no other
'reaſon but becauſe a general, but groundleſs
'clamour has been raiſed againſt ſome parts
'of his conduct; therefore, whatever clamours
'may have been raiſed againſt our late conduct,
'they ought not of themſelves to be of any
'weight in this debate, even tho' it were pro-
'ved, that the honourable gentleman, now de-
'ſired to be removed, had all along had not
'only the chief, but the ſole direction of all our
'publick affairs, which has not been attempted,
'tho' I confeſs, it has been ſtrongly aſſerted;
'but if I ſhould take upon me to aſſert the con-
'trary, I muſt think, I have an equal title to be
'believed, becauſe, conſidering how long, and
'in what ſtations I have ſerved his Majeſty, my
'knowledge of the fact muſt be at leaſt as well
'founded,

'founded, and, I hope, my veracity is equally 'to be depended on.

'The grounds of the clamours and com- 'plaints, either within doors or without, are 'therefore to be ſtrictly examined, becauſe they 'are the only arguments that can have any 'weight in this debate; and as there has been 'nothing new advanced upon this head, what- 'ever pleaſure gentlemen may take in repeating 'the objections that were made, at the reſpec- 'tive and only proper times, to the ſeveral ſteps 'of our publick conduct now complained of, I 'hope, Sir, they will pardon me, if I do not 'take up your time with repeating the anſwers 'then made to them, which were ſo ſatisfac- 'tory, that all the meaſures now complained of, 'except, I think, but one, met with the ap- 'probation of one or both houſes of Parlia- 'ment. The exciſe ſcheme, indeed, was not 'puſhed ſo far as to meet with the approbation 'of both houſes of Parliament, or with the fi- 'nal approbation of either; but ſo far as it pro- 'ceeded, it met with the approbation of this 'houſe, and it was not dropt becauſe it was bad 'in itſelf, but becauſe of the ſpirit that had 'been raiſed againſt it without doors. In all 'countries there are certain prejudices, which no- 'thing but abſolute power can get the better of. 'In this country a general exciſe has been made 'ſuch a bugbear, that the people are frightned 'at every thing which has but the leaſt reſem- 'blance of it; and this was the caſe with re- 'gard to the new method then propoſed for 'raiſing the duties upon wine and tobacco, 'which might as well have been called a gene- 'ral maſſacre as a general exciſe. A general 'exciſe, Sir, is when a duty is laid upon every 'thing a man can eat, drink, or conſume; and 'that duty raiſed, not upon the importer and

'manufacturer, but upon the retailer and con-
'ſumer. This, indeed, would be a terrible
'grievance; but was there any thing like this
'in the exciſe ſcheme? At that time there
'were, and are ſtill, heavy duties upon wines
'and tobacco: Theſe duties had before been
'raiſed by way of cuſtom upon the importa-
'tion, which had occaſioned great frauds and
'abuſes; therefore, to prevent theſe frauds, and
'to encourage the fair trader, it was propoſed
'to raiſe them, for the future, not upon the
'conſumer, for this would have look'd ſome-
'thing like a general exciſe, but upon the re-
'tailers, and upon them only. This, I ſtill
'think, Sir, was neither a bad, nor an oppreſ-
'ſive, nor a dangerous ſcheme; but if upon
'more mature deliberation it had appeared to
'be ſo, the honourable gentleman who at firſt pa-
'tronized it, is not to be condemned, becauſe,
'as ſoon as he ſaw that the people thought it
'ſo, tho' he perhaps thought otherwiſe, yet he
'freely gave it up. Miniſters, Sir, are not in-
'fallible: No good miniſter will pretend to be
'ſo; and therefore, the moſt we can expect is,
'that they ſhould alter their conduct as ſoon as
'they diſcover their error. One of the wiſeſt
'and greateſt Sovereigns we ever had, tho' ad-
'viſed by a very good and able miniſter, fell
'into an error: I mean the caſe of monopolies
'in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; but as ſoon as ſhe
'diſcovered it, ſhe corrected it, and upon that
'occaſion made ſuch a ſpeech, by way of an-
'ſwer to the addreſs of this houſe, as ought to
'be hung up in the cabinet of every ſovereign
'Prince. The Parliament was ſo far from con-
'demning the miniſter, for his having adviſed
'theſe monopolies, that this houſe ſent a ſo-
'lemn deputation to thank the Queen for re-
'voking her patents, in anſwer to which ſhe
'made

'made the ſpeech I have mentioned. There-
'fore, ſuppoſing the exciſe ſcheme to have been
'a very bad one, we have no reaſon to blame
'any miniſter for it; becauſe it was given up
'as ſoon as it was found to be diſagreeable to
'the people.

'As to the methods that were taken in the
'year 1721, for reſtoring publick credit, and
'for puniſhing thoſe who had brought it to the
'very brink of deſtruction, they were ſo much
'approved of at that time, both within doors
'and without, that I am ſurprized to hear them
'now complained of. The publick credit was
'in a ſhort time effectually and amazingly re-
'ſtored, and the guilty were condignly puniſh-
'ed, without either ſeverity or partiality; and
'by reducing the intereſt payable to the pro-
'prietors of the *South-Sea* ſtock, as it was then
'augmented and eſtabliſhed, a moſt extraordi-
'nary advantage has accrued to the publick.
'Theſe facts are ſo notorious, and the argu-
'ments in favour of what was done at that time
'are ſo recent in every man's memory, that I
'ſhall not trouble you with any proofs of the
'former, or a repetition of the latter: And for
'the ſame reaſon, I think it unneceſſary to trou-
'ble you with a re-juſtification of the *Hanover*
'treaty, or any of the meaſures conſequent
'thereupon. But as to the complaint relating
'to the convention, and the arguments made
'uſe of in favour of the addreſs propoſed,
'when that treaty was under the conſideration
'of this houſe, as it is ſomething new, I ſhall
'beg leave to make ſome few remarks upon it.

'In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, Sir, that
'thoſe who make this complaint ſeem to have
'forgot the ſtation in which the honourable
'gentleman, whoſe character is now attacked,
'has always ſerved his Majeſty. Even ſuppoſe

'he were, as they repreſent him, the chief and 'ſole miniſter, it would be impoſſible for him 'to govern and direct all our foreign negotiati-'ons, as well as all the affairs of the treaſury. 'He muſt leave the management of our foreign 'affairs to others, and muſt take his informa-'tion, as to facts, from thoſe that are intruſted 'with the management of them; therefore, 'when he is to talk of them in this houſe, or 'any where elſe, he may be impoſed on as well 'as others; and conſequently, ſuppoſe he had 'ſaid in this houſe, that his Catholick Majeſty 'was inclined to live in peace with this nation, 'or that the *Spaniſh* court ſeemed willing to a-'gree to reaſonable terms for ſecuring our trade 'and navigation in the *American* ſeas, when in 'fact it appeared to be otherwiſe, we are not 'from thence to conclude poſitively, that he af-'firmed what he knew to be falſe: It would be 'more charitable, and, I am ſure, more conſo-'nant to his character, to ſuppoſe, that he had 'himſelf been impoſed on, and that he had 'given more credit to our negotiators, for he 'was himſelf none of them, than they de-'ſerved.

'But, Sir, I am ſtill of opinion, that the 'facts were not otherwiſe. I am convinced, his 'Catholick Majeſty himſelf was inclined to live 'in peace with this nation; and I am convin-'ced, the court of *Spain* would have given us 'ſecurity for the freedom of our trade and na-'vigation in the *American* ſeas, if any method 'could have been contrived for preventing the 'illicit trade carried on with their ſettlements in '*America*. This a little time might probably 'have produced, if the people here could have 'been prevailed on to have had patience, and 'in that caſe, the convention would have pro-'ved a good foundation for a ſolid and laſting

'peace;

'peace; but nothing would ſatisfy the people 'here, but immediate ſatisfaction and ſecurity, or 'an immediate war. We know who they were 'that inſtigated the people to be ſo peremptory in 'their demands; and I ſhall not ſcruple to own it 'as my opinion, that by the violent ſpirit ſtirred 'up among our people here at home, our mini-'ſters, of whom the gentleman now complained 'of is but one, were, in ſome meaſure, forced 'into meaſures that have ſince forced the nation 'into a war.

'Gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe of the 'ſum of money agreed by *Spain* to be paid to us, 'for the damages we ſuſtained by their depreda-'tions; but, Sir, I will now again affirm, that 'they agreed to pay us 200,000 *l.* and would 'have immediately given orders for the payment 'of it upon their governors in the *Weſt-Indies*; 'but we knew the tediouſneſs of theſe payments, 'therefore we inſiſted upon having it in ready 'money, and upon that condition we agreed, I 'think, wiſely agreed, to allow 45,000 *l.* for 'prompt payment, which reduced the 200,000 *l.* 'to 155,000 *l.* and out of this it was both reaſon-'able and juſt, to allow them to deduct what was 'due to them, on account of the ſhips agreed to 'be reſtored to them by the treaty in 1721, a-'mounting to 60,000 *l.* which reduced what they 'had agreed to pay to us on account of damages 'to 95,000 *l.*

'Thus, Sir, it appears, that they had actually 'allowed us 200,000 *l.* in lieu of damages. This 'was a great deal above the value of all the ſhips 'they had ever before acknowledged to have been 'unjuſtly ſeized or taken from us; and therefore, 'their agreeing to pay us this ſum, was a tacit 'acknowledgment of their having been in the 'wrong; and without any regard to what was 'due to them from our *South-Sea* company, the

'balance

'balance as I have ſtated it, and as it was ſtated 'by the convention, would, I believe, have been 'paid to us at the time appointed, if we had re-'called our ſquadron from *Gibraltar*; but conſi-'dering the violent ſpirit that prevailed here at 'home, our miniſters could not venture to do ſo, 'for fear of having our domeſtick tranquillity 'diſturbed by ſome furious popular commotion; 'and the court of *Spain* looking upon the conti-'nuance of our ſquadron at *Gibraltar* as an inſult 'upon their crown and kingdom, refuſed to pay 'the 95,000 *l.* ſtipulated by the convention. That 'they had no right to look upon our keeping a 'ſquadron at *Gibraltar* as an inſult, is certainly 'true; for as it is now the property of *Great 'Britain*, we may always keep a ſquadron there 'if we pleaſe; but as we had never before done 'ſo, as we had never ſent or kept a ſquadron 'there, unleſs when we had a diſpute with ſome 'of the neighbouring powers, and as we had then 'no diſpute with any neighbouring power, except '*Spain*, it was naturally to be ſuppoſed, I believe, 'all *Europe* did ſuppoſe, that we kept our ſqua-'dron there, with a deſign to oblige the *Spaniards* 'to perform punctually what they had promiſed 'by the convention; and in this light it muſt be 'admitted, that the court of *Spain* had ſome rea-'ſon to look upon it as an inſult; for though I 'ſhould be very ready to do a man juſtice, I 'ſhould not like to have him ſtand with his cane 'over my head till I did it: I ſhould certainly 'diſdain to do him juſtice, as long as he ſtood in 'that poſture.

'From hence we may ſee, Sir, that the argu-'ments made uſe of in favour of the addreſs pro-'poſed, when we had the convention under our 'conſideration, can be no objection to the charac-'ter of the honourable perſon attack'd by this 'motion; and as to our conduct of the war, it is,

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'I am ſure, what he has nothing to do with, any 'other way than as being one of his Majeſty's 'council; ſo that whatever can be ſaid againſt our 'conduct of the war, muſt militate againſt every 'member of his Majeſty's privy council as much 'as againſt him. But the chief, and, indeed, the 'only proper charge that has been made againſt 'him is, his having endeavoured to obtain a cor-'rupt influence over a majority in both houſes of 'Parliament; for that he has already obtained 'ſuch an influence, will not, I hope, be expreſsly 'affirmed, however ſtrongly it may be inſinuated. 'This is, indeed, a heavy charge; but ſurely 'gentlemen do not expect we ſhould take this up-'on their *ipſe dixit*. It is a fact which, if true, 'may certainly be proved: Let any one member 'of this houſe riſe up, let any one who has been 'a member come, and ſay, that the perſon now 'accuſed ever deſired him, or tempted him either 'by threats or promiſes to vote againſt his con-'ſcience in Parliament; and we ſhall then have it 'in our power to conſider the weight of the evi-'dence offered; but ſurely we ought not to con-'demn a man upon a general charge unſupported 'by any proof.

'The gentlemen, it is true, Sir, who have 'brought this charge, have offered two things in 'ſupport of it, which require an immediate conſi-'deration. The one is, a ſort of preſumptive 'proof, and the other, a pretended confeſſion. I 'ſhall beg leave to examine both; and firſt, as to 'the preſumptive proof, they ſay, that ſeveral 'perſons, and ſome of high rank, have been turned 'out of every office and employment they held at 'the pleaſure of the crown, for no other apparent 'reaſon, but becauſe they or their friends oppos'd 'this miniſter's meaſures in Parliament. Here, 'Sir, I muſt obſerve, that the King has, by our 'conſtitution, an unlimited prerogative to employ

'what ſervants or officers he pleaſes in the executive part of our government, and may employ or diſplace whom he pleaſes without aſking the advice of any miniſter; and therefore, the exerciſe of this power can never be charged to the account of any miniſter. I ſhall grant, that the turning a gentleman out of his poſt in the ſervice of the crown, for voting according to conſcience in Parliament, or for oppoſing any court meaſure he could not approve of, would be a very wrong and a dangerous exerciſe of this prerogative; but at the ſame time I muſt take notice, that an oppoſition in Parliament may be ſuch, as will afford a juſt and legal reaſon for turning the oppoſer out of the ſervice of the crown: When it is indiſcreetly and indecently carried on, or when the oppoſition proceeds not from honour or conſcience, but from mere reſentment, becauſe the gentleman has met with a denial in ſome ſuit, which his Majeſty did not think fit to grant. In either of theſe caſes, even a man's behaving or voting in Parliament, will be a good reaſon for diſmiſſing him the ſervice of the crown. Beſides theſe, a gentleman may be guilty of ſeveral ſorts of offences no way relating to his behaviour in Parliament, which highly deſerve a diſmiſſion from the King's ſervice, and though his Majeſty inflicts the puniſhment, he may, from his natural tenderneſs, and in pure charity to the offender, be prevailed on not to publiſh or declare the offence. Therefore, when a member of Parliament is diſmiſſed the ſervice of the crown, though his Majeſty does not think fit to declare the offence, it is a breach of charity in us, and a failure in duty to our Sovereign, to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty diſmiſſed him for no other reaſon, but for purſuing the dictates of his honour and conſcience in Parliament.

'Now,

'Now, Sir, with regard to the pretended confeſſion or declaration, which has been repreſented as ſuch a heinous crime. Suppoſe the honourable gentleman had made uſe of the very words that have been mentioned, we ought not ſurely to take them in a wrong ſenſe, if they will bear a good one; and therefore we ought to ſuppoſe, that he meant, by oppoſing a miniſter's meaſures in Parliament, not an oppoſition that proceeded from a conviction of their being wrong, but an oppoſition that proceeded from mere reſentment, from a factious ſpirit, or from a ſecret deſign to compel the King to comply with ſome unreaſonable requeſt; and in either of theſe caſes, I will join with the honourable gentleman in ſaying, That he would be a pitiful fellow of a miniſter, if he did not adviſe the King to diſmiſs from his ſervice, a man who made ſuch an unworthy uſe of his ſeat in either houſe of Parliament.

'I have now, I think, ſhewn, Sir, that no particular crime has been ſo much as alledged, much leſs proved, againſt the gentleman whoſe character is propoſed to be ſtigmatized by an addreſs of this houſe; that no material objection has been made againſt any part of his conduct, but what has been before anſwered to the ſatisfaction of the nation, as well as of this houſe; and I hope I have fully anſwered every thing new, that has been ſtarted in this debate; therefore I muſt think, that our agreeing to this motion would be a moſt ſignal breach of our conſtitution, and a moſt dangerous incroachment upon the prerogative of the crown. We know, Sir, what a ferment was raiſed in the nation in a late reign, by a proceeding of this ſort; we know how it was then declared, "That addreſſing "the King to diſplace his friends upon bare ſurmiſes, before a legal trial, or any article proved, "was illegal, and inverting the law, by making

"execution

'execution go before judgment." Do not now 'let us fall into the ſame error, leſt it ſhould pro-'duce the ſame effects.

'Before I conclude, Sir, I muſt take notice of 'the argument drawn from the length of time 'this gentleman has had a ſhare in the adminiſtra-'tion: If the form of our government were alto-'gether republican, there might be ſome weight 'in this argument; but this is another advantage 'of our happy conſtitution, that an able, a good 'and wiſe miniſter or magiſtrate may be continued 'in the ſervice of his country, for his whole life, 'without any danger to our conſtitution; becauſe 'the attachment of the people to their King and 'Royal Family will always prevent any bad ef-'fects from his ambition; and the controul of a 'Maſter or Sovereign, as well as of two houſes of 'Parliament, will always prevent his being guilty 'of very enormous practices; or will at all times, 'even when he is in the zenith of his power, be 'able to diſcover and puniſh them, if he ſhould: 'So that there is as little in this argument, as in 'any other that has been advanced in favour of 'this motion; and therefore I ſhall give my ne-'gative to the queſtion.'

The next ſpeech was that made by Sir *John Barnard*, the purport of which was as follows, *viz.*

Sir *John Barnard*'s ſpeech.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Before this motion was made, I expected, 'and, I find, I am not diſappointed, that endea-'vours would be uſed to perſuade the houſe, that 'we ought not to addreſs for removing a miniſter, 'unleſs we have ſuch proofs againſt him, as may 'be a ſufficient ground for impeaching him. This 'ſeems to be the ſcope of the argument made uſe 'of by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt,

'and

'and if this were to be admitted, there never 'could be any ſuch thing as an addreſs to remove 'a miniſter; for if a miniſter has been guilty of 'crimes, and if any member of this houſe ſhould 'have information thereof, and ſufficient evidence 'for ſupporting the charge, he ought not to move 'for an addreſs to remove ſuch a miniſter, it 'would be his duty to lay his information fully 'before the houſe, and to conclude with a motion 'for impeaching him, either of high treaſon, or 'of high crimes and miſdemeanours, according to 'the nature of the charge. The moſt weak, the 'moſt continued ſeries of blundering conduct, 'could never be admitted as a foundation for ad-'dreſſing our Sovereign to remove him; and thus, 'if he continued in the favour of his Prince, which 'is not at all impoſſible, he might go on blun-'dering, till he had blundered himſelf, his King 'and his country into irretrievable perdition.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that this houſe has ſeldom 'proceeded to addreſs for the removal of a mini-'ſter, unleſs he was ſuſpected of ſomething that 'was acknowledged to be criminal; but this did 'not proceed from its being neceſſary to alledge 'ſomething criminal as a foundation for ſuch an 'addreſs, but becauſe weak miniſters are gene-'rally wicked as well as weak: By their weakneſs 'they run themſelves into meaſures which they 'find they cannot juſtify, and for which they 'ought to be removed, and then to prevent their 'removal, they lead themſelves into meaſures for 'which they ought to be puniſhed. This is the 'true reaſon why ſuch addreſſes have generally 'been founded upon the ſuſpicion of wickedneſs 'as well as weakneſs; becauſe when there were 'two reaſons for removing a miniſter from the 'King's councils, the houſe was certainly in the 'right to inſiſt upon both. But let it be weakneſs, 'or let it be wickedneſs, for which a miniſter is

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'to be removed, will any gentleman ſay, that it 'is neceſſary to mention particular facts, and that 'we ought to have a proof of theſe facts, before 'we can addreſs for the removal of a miniſter? 'The honourable gentleman talks of bare ſurmiſes 'and general arguments, as if they could not 'afford the leaſt ground for ſuch an addreſs. 'Sir, they not only afford ſome ground, but they 'are the only ground upon which ſuch an addreſs 'can be founded; becauſe when there is any 'thing farther than a bare ſurmiſe, we ought, as 'I have ſaid, to go farther than a bare addreſs.

'But by ſuch an addreſs, it ſeems, we are 'to blacken the character of an honourable gen-'tleman who has ſerved his country for many 'years, and during ſeveral reigns, with great wiſ-'dom and integrity. It is a great misfortune, 'Sir, to thoſe who have ſo high an opinion of 'his wiſdom and integrity, that the general voice 'of their country is againſt them, and that the 'ſituation of affairs, both at home and abroad, 'ſeems to be a demonſtrative proof againſt them; 'but let the honourable gentleman's character for 'wiſdom and integrity be ever ſo great, it cannot 'be blackened by the addreſs of this houſe, be-'cauſe a man's character does not depend upon 'what a court of juſtice does or refuſes to do againſt 'him, but upon the opinion the world has of 'what a court of juſtice ought to do. Should we 'addreſs the King to remove one that is generally 'ſuppoſed to be an upright and wiſe miniſter, 'would that addreſs blacken his character? No, 'Sir, it would only blaſt our own. Should we 'refuſe to addreſs the King to remove one who is 'generally thought to be a weak and wicked mi-'niſter, would that refuſal brighten his character? 'No, Sir, but it would blacken the character of 'this houſe in the eyes of all thoſe who had ſuch 'an opinion of him.

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'I hope, gentlemen will conſider this, and if they 'do, I am ſure, they muſt reflect more ſeriouſly upon 'the conſtitution of this houſe than they ſeem to do, 'when they ſay, that the ſentiments of the majority 'of the better ſort of people in the nation, are to be 'judged of from what appears to be the ſentiments of 'the majority of this houſe. It is well known, Sir, 'how unequally the nation is repreſented in this 'houſe. I believe, it will be allowed, that the cities of '*London* and *Weſtminſter*, the borough of *Southwark*, 'and the county of *Middleſex*, contain at leaſt *one fifth* 'of the people of the whole nation, yet they have but '*ten* repreſentatives in this houſe, which makes not 'quite a 55th part of the number of members in this 'aſſembly; and what is very remarkable, I believe, 'it will appear, whatever may be the fate of this 'motion, that of theſe *ten*, there will *eight* upon 'the affirmative ſide of the queſtion. If we con-'ſider our counties and great cities, and compare 'them with our little boroughs, the diſproportion 'will be found almoſt as great, which ſhews, that 'we ought not to judge of the ſentiments of the 'better ſort of people, from what appears to be 'the ſentiments of the majority of this houſe; 'and if we conſider, that ſeveral gentlemen of 'this houſe take upon them to vote, in many 'queſtions, againſt the declared ſentiments of their 'conſtituents, the fallaciouſneſs of this way of 'judging will appear ſtill more apparent. There-'fore, I would not have gentlemen plume them-'ſelves too much in a majority of this houſe, or 'conclude from thence, that they have a majority 'of the better ſort of people upon their ſide of 'the queſtion; for if the members of this houſe 'are to be ſuppoſed to ſpeak the ſentiments of 'their conſtituents, and if we conſider the places 'and not the perſons that vote upon each ſide of 'the queſtion, it will appear, that the ſentiments 'of the majority of the better ſort of people, are

'often very different from what appears to be the 'ſentiments of the majority of this houſe.

'If we judge by this rule, Sir, which is the 'only proper way of judging, we ſhall find, that 'this miniſter's conduct, almoſt in every remark-'able ſtep, with regard both to foreign and do-'meſtick affairs, has been diſapproved of by a 'great majority of the better ſort of people in the 'nation, though not by a majority of this houſe; 'and I am ſure, no man that knows any thing of 'what paſſes without doors, will pretend to deny 'his being complained of, and even exclaimed a-'gainſt by a great majority of the people. In for-'mer times, Sir, *Vox populi eſt vox Dei*, was held 'to be a maxim among all thoſe who called them-'ſelves Whigs, and even miniſters themſelves, of 'whatever denomination, were obliged to ſhew a 'great regard to it; but ſince we have fallen into 'the cuſtom of keeping up numerous ſtanding ar-'mies, this maxim has been deſpiſed by our mi-'niſters, even by thoſe miniſters that called them-'ſelves Whigs, and the populace, or what mini-'ſters and their friends call, the mob, has been 'held in contempt, as if it were poſſible to ſup-'poſe, that the populace, or meaner ſort, can be 'generally diſcontented, when the better ſort are 'generally pleaſed with the conduct of our publick 'affairs. The populace in all countries are the 'ſervants, and, unleſs when agitated by ſome 'flaſh of enthuſiaſtical madneſs, ſpeak the ſenti-'ments of the better ſort. The latter, as they 'have ſomething to loſe beſide their lives, may 'not, perhaps, be ſo ready to break out, or to 'fall into outragious meaſures againſt an eſtabliſh-'ed government; but except in the caſe I have 'mentioned, the meaner ſort, or the mob, never 'become outragious, unleſs they are ſpirited up 'by the diſcontents and ſecret grumblings of their 'maſters. A wiſe and a good miniſter will al-

'ways,

'ways, therefore, aim at popularity even amongſt 'the meaneſt ſort of people, becauſe from them 'he may moſt certainly learn his real character 'among thoſe of the better ſort. The former 'have nothing to hope for by flattering him, and 'much leſs to fear than their maſters, from utter-'ing thoſe complaints openly and freely, which 'are in a ſecret, or indirect manner inſtilled into 'them by thoſe that give them bread.

'The people, I ſhall grant, Sir, are in all coun-'tries fond of changes of miniſters or magiſtrates. 'In free countries they are fond of them, becauſe 'ſuch changes are neceſſary for the ſecurity and 'preſervation of the rights and liberties of the 'people; and in abſolute governments, as mini-'ſters and magiſtrates are generally oppreſſive, the 'people have reaſon to be fond of any change. 'This fondneſs is therefore in all countries found-'ed upon ſolid reaſons, and accordingly we find, 'that people of all ranks and degrees, except mi-'niſters themſelves, and their creatures, are equal-'ly fond of ſuch changes; but to ſay, that the 'people of any degree in a country that ſubſiſts 'by trade and induſtry, delight in war, is, I 'think, a very great miſtake. If we examine the 'hiſtories of our own country, we ſhall find, that 'the nation has been led into unneceſſary and de-'ſtructive wars by the whims of a court, and that 'by the ſame ſort of whims, we have ſometimes 'remained at peace, when we ought to have de-'clared war; but we ſhall never find, that the 'people in general were for entering into an un-'neceſſary war, or for our continuing in peace 'when it appeared neceſſary to declare war. In 'King *James* Iſt's time, it was certainly the inter-'eſt of this nation, and would have redounded 'very much to our honour, to have ſupported 'the Proteſtant intereſt in *Germany*, by entering 'heartily into that war; but we had at that time

'ſuch a pacifick court, that neither the honour 'nor intereſt of this nation, nor the ſafety of the 'Proteſtant religion, could prevail with our court 'to declare war, or to give the Proteſtants any 'effectual aſſiſtance. What did the people do up-'on that occaſion? Did not they declare almoſt 'unanimouſly for war? Did not they exclaim a-'gainſt the then miniſters, for allowing the *Pala-'tinate* family to be ruined, and the Proteſtant 'religion extirpated both in the *Palatinate* and in '*Bohemia?* In King *Charles* IId's time, we were 'involved by our court in two wars againſt the '*Dutch:* I believe, no man will now ſay, they 'were neceſſary: I believe it will now be admit-'ted, that both were contrary to the true intereſt 'of this nation, and deſtructive to the balance of 'power in *Europe:* Accordingly, the people de-'clared againſt both. And laſtly, Sir, I believe, 'we all remember, how generally the people de-'clared for a war with *Spain*, long before our mi-'niſter could be prevailed on, either by the inſults 'of *Spain*, or the complaints of our own people, 'to declare war againſt that nation. The event 'has ſhewn, that the people were in the right. 'What had been often foretold in this houſe, at 'laſt appeared to be true, That without a war it 'would be impoſſible to obtain either ſatisfaction 'or ſecurity from the *Spaniards*; and ſurely it 'muſt now be allowed, that if we had begun this 'war eight years ago, when the Emperor was at-'tacked by the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, it would have 'been greatly to our honour as well as advantage, 'and might have prevented the preſent melan-'choly poſture of affairs in *Europe*.

'Thus, Sir, if we examine our own hiſtories, 'we ſhall find, that at all times, when our mini-'ſters and people have differed in opinion with 'regard to war or peace, the people have generally 'been in the right; and for this it is eaſy to aſſign

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'a reaſon, becauſe the people can be directed in 'their judgment by nothing but the general in-'tereſt, whereas miniſters are too often directed 'by particular intereſts of their own, or by the 'particular intereſt, perhaps the particular whim 'of their Sovereign, in complying with which, 'miniſters are apt to be extremely complaiſant, 'for the ſake of continuing themſelves in power, 'eſpecially when they think, they can by corrup-'tion, or any other method, prevent their being 'called to an account in Parliament.

'From hence, Sir, we may ſee, that the unpo-'pularity of our miniſter does not proceed from 'an unreaſonable fondneſs in our people for war, 'or from any childiſh deſire of being aſtoniſhed 'with extraordinary events, but from their having 'judged better, and more diſintereſtedly, of the 'circumſtances of our foreign affairs, and the true 'intereſt of their country; and if he has incurred 'the diſpleaſure of all ranks of people, upon this 'or any other account, his character is already 'branded: It cannot be farther branded by an 'addreſs of this houſe to remove him: On the 'contrary, it may by that means be vindicated; 'becauſe after his removal, and not till then, a 'ſtrict and impartial inquiry may be made into his 'conduct, and by that inquiry his character may 'be cleared of thoſe ſuſpicions that now lie ſo 'heavy upon it. This, I ſay, may be the conſe-'quence of the addreſs propoſed, and then he 'may again be employed by his Majeſty; but 'whilſt he labours under a general ſuſpicion of 'weakneſs or wickedneſs, will any one ſay, he is 'fit for being in his Majeſty's councils, and far 'leſs for being his Majeſty's ſole adviſer? Let the 'people be never ſo bad judges of a man's virtue 'or wiſdom: Let the clamours againſt the mini-'ſter's conduct be never ſo groundleſs, can his 'Majeſty expect any confidence from his Parlia-

'ment, while his councils are directed by a mini-
'ſter againſt whom there is a general ſuſpicion and
'clamour.

'Surely, Sir, if there be any connexion between
'the ſentiments of the majority of this aſſembly,
'and the ſentiments of the people: If we are to
'judge of the ſentiments of the people, by what
'appears to be the ſentiments of the majority of
'this aſſembly, we may, on the other hand,
'judge of what will be the ſentiments of the ma-
'jority of next Parliament, from what are the
'preſent ſentiments of the people; and if the ma-
'jority of next Parliament ſhould conſiſt of ſuch
'as have the ſame opinion of this miniſter as the
'people generally have, can his Majeſty expect
'any confidence from ſuch a Parliament? Can it
'be expected that they will truſt the government
'of their country to a man who, they think, will
'ruin it by his weakneſs, or betray it by his wick-
'edneſs? Sir, the chuſing of a new Parliament,
'whilſt ſuch a miniſter is, or is ſuppoſed to be the
'ſole director of our publick councils, muſt ne-
'ceſſarily be of the moſt dangerous conſequence,
'either to our happy conſtitution, or to our pre-
'ſent happy eſtabliſhment. If the people are left
'to their free choice, in the preſent humour they
'are in, they will certainly chuſe ſuch for their
'repreſentatives as have been the moſt profeſſed
'and ſteady enemies to him; and among them
'a majority may get in of ſuch as are ſecretly
'diſaffected to the Illuſtrious Family now upon
'our throne, which would certainly be of the
'moſt dangerous conſequence to our preſent hap-
'py eſtabliſhment. On the other hand, if the
'people ſhould not be left to their free choice, if
'they ſhould be directed in their choice by corrup-
'tion and other illegal practices, and thereby a
'majority ſhould be choſen conſiſting of ſuch as
'are the creatures and tools of the miniſter, what

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'might we not apprehend from ſuch a majority 'during the long courſe of a ſeptennial Parliament? Could we expect, that ſuch a majority 'would have any regard to the liberties and privileges of the people? Muſt we not expect, 'that they would put an end to our happy conſtitution, when we conſider, that the future 'ſafety both of themſelves and their patron would 'depend upon its final overthrow?

'It is ſo apparent to me, Sir, that one or other of theſe dangers muſt be the conſequence 'of having a new Parliament choſen, whilſt ſuch 'an unpopular miniſter is at the helm of affairs, 'that I cannot believe any man, who conſiders 'the queſtion in this light, will be againſt it, 'unleſs he be a ſecret enemy, either to our conſtitution, or to our preſent eſtabliſhment. If 'there be any amongſt us, as I hope there are 'not, who are afraid of having our conſtitution 'reſtored to its priſtine vigour, by the choice of 'a free and independent Parliament, they have 'reaſon to be againſt this motion; and I am ſure, 'if I were a *Jacobite* in my heart, there is nothing I ſhould wiſh more eagerly, than to ſee a 'negative put upon the queſtion, becauſe I ſhould 'from thence expect, that my friends would ſtand 'a fair chance, in every part of the kingdom, of 'getting themſelves choſen members of this houſe 'at the next enſuing elections.

'I hope I have now ſhewn, Sir, that the miniſter propoſed by this motion to be removed, 'muſt be allowed to be a very unpopular minister; that his character can be no way blackened by this addreſs farther than it is already, 'but on the contrary, may be cleared of the 'cloud of ſuſpicion which now hangs lowering 'over it; and that his continuance in power muſt 'be of the moſt dangerous conſequence, either to 'our conſtitution, or to our preſent eſtabliſhment.

'I have no occaſion to prove, and indeed it is 'impoſſible to prove, that he is the chief adviſer 'and ſole director of all our publick affairs: It is 'ſufficient for my argument, if he be generally 'ſuppoſed to be ſo; and that this ſuppoſition is 'general without doors, is apparent from the con-'tinual application made to him in all branches of 'publick buſineſs: No man, we ſee, expects to 'get any buſineſs done with, or to obtain any fa-'vour from the crown, without making ſome ſort 'of application to him; for if he puts a negative 'upon it, that negative has often been found to 'prevail againſt the ſtrongeſt intereſt that could 'any other way be made in its favour. This is 'the caſe, this has long been the caſe with regard 'to all affairs of a domeſtick nature; and with 'regard to thoſe that are foreign, do not we 'know, that ſome very near friend of his has 'been employed in all our negotiations that were 'of any great importance to the nation? Our 'other miniſters may perhaps have had from him 'the liberty to nominate a reſident, or an envoy 'to ſome of the northern crowns, or to ſome of 'the little princes of *Germany* or *Italy*; but when 'any important negotiation was ſet on foot with '*Holland*, *France* or *Spain*, every one knows who 'they are that have been always employed, and 'by whoſe recommendation they were appointed; 'and our many fruitleſs negotiations, and as fruit-'leſs treaties, have ſufficiently teſtified their great 'abilities.

'Theſe circumſtances, Sir, have moſt juſtly 'created a general ſuppoſition, that this miniſter 'has been for many years, and is ſtill, the ſole di-'rector of all our publick affairs; and this ſuppo-'ſition it will be impoſſible for our other miniſters 'to remove, by ſimply aſſerting that it is not ſo. 'I have, Sir, a very great opinion of their veracity; 'but this does not depend upon their veracity, but

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'their judgment; becauſe an artful miniſter may 'make them believe, they act freely and without 'direction, when all but themſelves ſee, they can 'do nothing without his conſent or connivance. 'However, I muſt tell them, that they have not 'in this caſe an equal title with others to be be-'lieved, becauſe their own honour is very much 'concerned in the queſtion; for as a prime mini-'ſter is inconſiſtent with our conſtitution, when 'any one miniſter, by his favour with the Prince 'upon the throne, uſurps the ſole direction of all 'our publick affairs, no man of honour will then 'continue in the adminiſtration, becauſe he does 'not then ſerve his Prince, but his Prince's prime 'miniſter. This is what no man of any pretence 'to honour will confeſs, and therefore, when he 'aſſerts the contrary, he has not an equal title to 'be believed with thoſe, who are neither in ho-'nour nor intereſt concerned in the queſtion.

'I therefore wiſh, Sir, that ſome honourable 'gentlemen would ſave themſelves the trouble of 'denying, that our publick affairs are now under 'the ſole influence of this miniſter, becauſe, con-'ſidering ſome late circumſtances, and their known 'intereſt in the queſtion, they cannot expect to 'be believed, and becauſe the very ſuppoſition of 'its being ſo is ſufficient for the argument I have 'advanced. The very ſuppoſition that this mi-'niſter is a ſole and prime miniſter, muſt expoſe 'our preſent eſtabliſhment to danger at the next 'general elections; but this is far from being the 'only danger we are expoſed to by this miniſter's 'continuance in power. We know the preſent 'tickliſh ſtate of the affairs of *Europe*; we know 'what a danger the balance of power is now in; 'and we know what a diſcredit his paſt conduct 'has brought upon our councils at every court in '*Europe*. If he is ſuppoſed to continue in the 'chief direction of our publick affairs, can we

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'expect a confidence from any of thoſe courts? 'Can we expect, that any of the Potentates of '*Europe* will enter into an alliance with us, for 'reſtoring or preſerving the balance of power? 'From experience we know how little capable he 'is of conducting any negotiation; therefore, if 'he continues but one year longer at the head of 'our councils, we have reaſon to apprehend ſome 'falſe ſtep or blunder, which may put it out of 'the power of any future adminiſtration to reco-'ver our affairs, or to form any ſcheme for ſecu-'ring the liberties of *Europe*; and if all the pow-'ers thereof ſhould be obliged to ſubmit to the 'direction of our moſt dangerous rival, what can 'this nation at laſt expect?

'This danger, Sir, is ſo apparent, and is now 'become ſo imminent, that our complying with 'this motion is, in my opinion, a duty we owe 'both to our King and country. Suppoſe I 'thought this miniſter guilty of no crime; ſup-'poſe I had approved of every ſtep of his paſt 'conduct, yet the weakneſs of his meaſures ap-'pears now ſo plain from their effects, both a-'broad and at home, that I ſhould be for addreſ-'ſing to remove a miniſter, who had led me, as 'well as his country, into ſuch fatal errors. Po-'litical meaſures, Sir, are of ſuch an abſtruſe na-'ture, and ſo often admit of a falſe gloſs, that a 'miſtake can no way derogate from the under-'ſtandings of thoſe, who are obliged to judge of 'them without having all the lights neceſſary for 'forming a right judgment. I know there are 'many gentlemen in this houſe, who have ap-'proved of moſt of this miniſter's meaſures: Ac-'cording to the lights they viewed them in at the 'time, they appeared wiſe and right; but will 'any gentleman now ſay they were ſo? Will any 'gentleman now ſay, the treaty of *Hanover* was 'a right meaſure? Will any one now approve of

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'the meaſures taken, and the expence we put 'ourſelves to, in purſuance of that treaty? Will 'any one now ſay, we ought to have gone preci- 'pitately into a general guaranty of the Pragma- 'tick Sanction, without ſtipulating the leaſt ſatiſ- 'faction for any Prince in *Germany*, with regard 'to the claims he had upon the houſe of *Au- 'ſtria*?

'Surely, Sir, before we entered into that gua- 'ranty, we ſhould have taken care, that more 'than one half of *Germany* ſhould not be engaged 'in intereſt to oppoſe that which we had guaran- 'tyed. The claims now ſet up by *Pruſſia* were 'certainly known to our miniſters before we gua- 'rantyed the Pragmatick Sanction: For him at 'leaſt we ought to have ſtipulated ſuch a ſatiſ- 'faction, as would in intereſt, as well as by trea- 'ty, have engaged him in the ſame intereſt with 'us. If we had done this, neither the Pragma- 'tick Sanction, nor the liberties of *Europe* would 'now have been in any danger; and therefore, I 'cannot think, any man will now pretend to juſ- 'tify our having ſo precipitately entered into a 'general guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction: 'Nay, I believe even our miniſter himſelf would 'not have done ſo, if he had not been forced to 'it, in order to extricate himſelf out of the di- 'lemma he had brought himſelf into by the trea- 'ty of *Seville*; for however jealous ſome of the 'neighbouring Princes of *Germany* may be, of 'an increaſe of power in the houſe of *Branden- 'burg*, ſurely no *Engliſh* miniſter could be actuated 'by any ſuch jealouſy; and therefore, I believe, 'even our miniſter himſelf would have ſtipulated 'ſatisfaction for the King of *Pruſſia*, with regard 'to his claims in *Sileſia*, before entering into that 'guaranty, if he had not been forced to it by the 'dilemma I have mentioned.

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'By theſe meaſures, Sir, and by our neglecting to perform our guaranty to the Emperor in the year 1733, the balance of power, and the liberties of *Europe* have been brought into their preſent danger. This danger is not owing to the Emperor's death, as the friends of our miniſter endeavour to inſinuate; for if we had taken right meaſures, if we had not taken wrong meaſures, nay, if we had not purſued a long ſeries of wrong meaſures, the Emperor's death could have made little or no alteration in the affairs of *Europe*; ſo that the Emperor's death had nothing in it fatal to the liberties of *Europe*, but its happening before this nation had an opportunity to get rid of this miniſter, and to rectify the errors it had been led into by him. This, indeed, was very unfortunate, and if he continues but for one year longer to have the ſame influence upon our councils, I may propheſy, that without ſome very ſignal intervention of Providence, it will be fatal to the liberties of *Europe* in general, and conſequently to the liberties of this nation in particular. At the reſpective times theſe meaſures were taken, they were ſet in ſuch a light by our miniſter and his advocates, that I do not wonder at their having been approved of by every one, who had any confidence either in his wiſdom or integrity; but their weakneſs, I ſhall not ſay wickedneſs, appears now ſo plain, from the effects they have produc'd, that no man, not even the miniſter himſelf, can approve of them; and therefore every man muſt think, he ought at leaſt to be removed for his weakneſs. His purſuing ſuch meaſures, his undertaking, as he did by the treaty of *Hanover*, to pull down the over-grown power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, may perhaps have proceeded from

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'wickedneſs: It may have proceeded from his 'having a greater regard for a foreign intereſt, 'becauſe it coincided with his own, than he had 'for the intereſt of his native country; but this 'cannot be made appear, as long as he is maſter 'of all the proofs, and has all the favours of 'the crown at his diſpoſal; and therefore, the 'firſt ſtep we muſt take towards diſcovering his 'wickedneſs, muſt be to remove him for his 'weakneſs, which, with regard to the general 'intereſt of *Europe*, muſt now, as I have ſaid, 'plainly appear, even to thoſe who have hitherto 'had the beſt opinion of his conduct.

'And now, Sir, with regard to the particu-'lar intereſt of this nation, will any one now 'ſay, that it was wiſe or right to allow *Spain* to 'amuſe us, for ſo many years together, with 'trifling negotiations, eſpecially as they were, 'during the whole time, interrupting our trade 'and navigation, and daily plundering our mer-'chants? Will any one now ſay, it was wiſe or 'right to conclude with *Spain* a ſham treaty, 'called a convention, without obtaining any ſa-'tisfaction for paſt injuries, or any promiſe of 'ſecurity againſt future, nay, without obtaining 'ſo much as a promiſe for an intermiſſion of in-'ſults? When any point happens to be in diſ-'pute, by which the nation is not expoſed to 'any immediate loſs or ſuffering, our miniſters 'may negotiate about it and about it: They 'may even conclude inſignificant treaties rela-'ting to it, in order to avoid an immediate 'rupture, by inſiſting upon an immediate diſ-'cuſſion; but when we ſuffer daily and greatly 'by the point in diſpute, and have it in our 'power to command an immediate diſcuſſion, 'ſurely our miniſters ought not then to allow 'themſelves to be amuſed with tedious nego-'tiations or unmeaning treaties; and much leſs

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'after they have put their country to a great 'expence in preparing for a rupture, which was 'our caſe at the time we concluded that inſigni-'ficant treaty, called the convention.

'I am really ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear an at-'tempt now made to juſtify that ridiculous 'treaty, or to hear any one ſay, the court of '*Spain* had an inclination to grant us any real 'ſatisfaction or ſecurity. Suppoſe they had by 'the treaty expreſsly allowed, as they did not, 'that 200,000*l.* was due to us in name of da-'mages for the injuries we had ſuffered, but 'that they ſhould, out of this 200,000 *l.* de-'duct, upon ſham pretences, no leſs than '173,000*l.* ſo as to leave no more than 27,000*l.* 'to be actually paid to us; muſt not every one 'ſee, that this would have been no more than a 'complaiſant conceſſion, made by the miniſters 'of *Spain* to the miniſters of *Great Britain*, in 'order to furniſh the latter with ſomething 'wherewith to amuſe their own people? And 'as it now appears from the papers upon our 'table, that *Spain* not only inſiſted upon her 'right to ſearch our ſhips in the *American* ſeas, 'but that we had no right to ſail in thoſe ſeas, 'unleſs we obſerved what they might be pleaſed 'to call a due courſe, it is very ſurpriſing to 'hear it ſtill aſſerted, that *Spain* had ever the 'leaſt thought of granting us a free navigation, 'or the leaſt inclination to live in peace with 'us, unleſs we continued to allow their *Guarda 'Coſta's* to interrupt our navigation, and to 'plunder or ſeize our merchant ſhips. Theſe 'pretences were not ſet up by verbal declara-'tions made to our miniſter or negotiator in '*Spain*, but by written memorials delivered or 'tranſmitted to our court here; and as all theſe 'memorials muſt have been taken into conſide-'ration in his Majeſty's cabinet council, it is

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'equally ſurpriſing to hear it pretended, that 'our chief miniſter was, or could poſſibly be, 'ignorant of them.

'I ſhall conclude, Sir, with a ſhort reply to 'what has been ſaid in anſwer to the charge a-'gainſt this miniſter, of his having endeavoured 'to obtain a corrupt influence over both houſes 'of Parliament. This the honourable gentle-'man admits to be a heavy charge; but, ſays 'he, it is a fact which, if true, may certainly 'be proved; and for this purpoſe he provokes 'any member to riſe up, and ſay, that the mi-'niſter ever deſired him, or tempted him, ei-'ther by threats or promiſes, to vote againſt his 'conſcience in Parliament. Can it be ſuppoſed, 'Sir, that any miniſter would be ſuch a fool as 'to talk ſo to a member of this houſe? Is there 'the leaſt occaſion for him to expoſe himſelf in 'this manner? Two or three examples: Two 'or three gentlemen being turned out of their 'poſts, after having oppoſed the miniſter's mea-'ſures in Parliament, will be a ſufficient warn-'ing or threatning to all the reſt of the mem-'bers of either houſe of Parliament, that hold 'any office or employment at the pleaſure of 'the crown, and alſo to all thoſe that hope for, 'or expect any favour from the crown. By 'theſe examples every one will ſee, that none 'of the favours of the crown are to be held or 'expected, but by reſigning their conſciences 'in Parliament to the dictates of the prime 'miniſter; and this will be as effectual upon all 'thoſe of venal minds or neceſſitous circumſtan-'ces, as if the miniſter had taken them one by 'one aſide, and threatned them expreſsly with 'the loſs of their employments, or with a diſ-'appointment to their hopes, in caſe they ſhould 'oppoſe any of his meaſures in Parliament.

'This is therefore the only proof we can 'have of a minister's endeavouring to gain a 'corrupt influence over both houses of Parlia- 'ment; and can it be said, Sir, that we have 'no proof of this kind against the minister now 'proposed to be removed? Do not we all know, 'that many eminent members of both houses 'of Parliament have been lately removed from 'every office they held at the pleasure of the 'crown, soon after their having opposed some 'of this minister's projects in Parliament, and 'that no cause for their removal ever was, or 'could be assigned, but their having voted ac- 'cording to the dictates of their conscience, in 'opposition to the dictates of the minister? Do 'not we all know, that it has been the constant 'maxim of his administration, to confer none 'of the favours of the crown, but upon such as 'voted according to his directions at elections or 'in Parliament? Nay, Sir, he nas gone farther 'than any minister before him ever did: He has 'declared this to be his maxim openly: He has 'avowed it in the face of this very assembly; 'and shall we desire or seek for a proof of a 'criminal fact, which the criminal himself has 'avowed and boasted of in this very assembly?

'The excuse made for this open attack upon 'our constitution, is a new confession of the 'minister's guilt. Is the minister, is the King 'himself to take notice of the opposition made 'by any gentleman in Parliament? Has the mi- 'nister, has the King himself a right to judge 'or determine, whether or no such an opposi- 'tion be indiscreetly and indecently carried on, 'or whether it proceeds from resentment or 'from conscience? Sir, there would be an end 'of the freedom of speech in Parliament, at 'least with regard to all gentlemen, who held 'or expected any office or place depending

'upon the pleaſure of the crown, if the King 'himſelf ſhould aſſume ſuch a right; and there-'fore, any miniſter that adviſes him to do ſo, 'muſt be guilty of a very high miſdemeanor. 'If any gentleman ſhould ſpeak or behave him-'ſelf indecently or indiſcreetly here, the houſe 'would certainly take notice of it; and whilſt 'a gentleman behaves himſelf decently and diſ-'creetly, whatever oppoſition he makes to any 'queſtion in this aſſembly, muſt and ought to 'be ſuppoſed to proceed from motives of ho-'nour and conſcience, and not from motives of 'malice or reſentment. If the crown, or rather 'the miniſters of the crown, were allowed a 'right to judge in ſuch caſes, every word ſpoke 'againſt them would be deemed to be indecent, 'and every oppoſition to their meaſures would 'be ſuppoſed to proceed from malice or reſent-'ment; and thus they would conclude, they 'had a juſt and legal reaſon for turning every 'man out of the ſervice of the crown, that 'ſhould oppoſe any of their meaſures in Par-'liament.

'Sir, the King may, 'tis true, exerciſe ſome 'of the prerogatives of the crown without aſk-'ing the advice of any miniſter; but if he 'does make a wrong uſe of any of theſe prero-'gatives, his miniſters muſt anſwer for it, if 'they continue to be his miniſters. This, Sir, 'is one of the advantages of our conſtitution, 'and it is a very high advantage; becauſe it 'makes it dangerous for miniſters to endeavour 'to gain a ſuperior degree of favour with the 'King, by humouring the paſſions and frailties 'of human nature, by which Kings, as well as 'other men, are too apt to be governed. But 'this advantage we loſe, Sir, when we happen 'to have an unpopular miniſter, or one who

'fears the reſentment of the people, and has no 'way to guard againſt it, but by gaining a cor-'rupt majority in Parliament; for ſuch a man 'muſt for his own ſafety endeavour to humour 'his Sovereign in all his paſſions and frailties, 'for the ſake of preſerving his favour, upon 'which alone his perſonal ſafety, as well as his 'power, depends; and if ſuch a man ſhould, 'by ſuch means, ſolely engroſs the favour of 'his maſter, and thereby gain a corrupt majo-'rity in both houſes of Parliament, I ſhould 'be glad to know what controul he is under, 'or by what legal means our conſtitution could 'be reſtored. This unlucky ſituation we may 'fall into by having the ſame miniſter too long 'continued in power. This danger we have, I 'think, ſome reaſon to apprehend from our 'preſent miniſter's being longer continued in 'power; and therefore I ſhall be for agreeing 'to the motion now under our conſideration.'

The next ſpeech was that made by *Edward Harley*, Eſq; (now Earl of *Oxford)* which was in ſubſtance thus:

Mr. *Harley's* ſpeech.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, I do not ſtand up at this time of night, 'either to accuſe or to flatter any man. Since 'I have had the honour to ſit in Parliament, I 'have oppoſed the meaſures of the adminiſtrati-'on, becauſe I thought them wrong; and as 'long as they are ſo, I ſhall continue to give as 'conſtant an oppoſition to them. The ſtate of 'the nation, by the conduct of our miniſters, 'is deplorable: A war is deſtroying us abroad, 'and poverty and corruption are devouring us 'at home. But whatever I may think of men, 'God forbid, that my private opinion ſhould be

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'the only rule of my judgment: I ſhould deſire 'to have an exterior conviction from facts and 'evidence; and without theſe I am ſo far from 'condemning, that I would not cenſure any 'man. I am fully ſatisfied in my own mind, 'that there are thoſe who give pernicious and 'deſtructive counſels; and, I hope, a time will 'come, when a proper, legal, parliamentary 'inquiry may be made, and when clear facts and 'full evidence will plainly diſcover, who are the 'enemies of their country.

'A noble Lord, to whom I had the honour 'to be related, has been often mentioned in this 'debate: He was impeached and impriſoned; 'by that impriſonment his years were ſhortned; 'and the proſecution was carried on by the ho-'nourable perſon, who is now the ſubject of 'your queſtion, though he knew at that very 'time, that there was no evidence to ſupport it. 'I am now, Sir, glad of this opportunity to re-'turn good for evil, and to do that honourable 'gentleman and his family that juſtice, which 'he denied to mine.'

The ſubſtance of the ſpeech made by *William Pulteney*, Eſq; upon this occaſion, was as follows, *viz.*

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Tho' it is now very late, yet I did not, 'at firſt, think of ſpeaking ſo early in the de-'bate, becauſe I had a mind to have heard firſt 'what the honourable gentleman had to ſay in 'his own vindication; but ſince the houſe ſeems 'to be of opinion, that he ought to be the laſt 'ſpeaker in this debate, I find myſelf obliged to 'alter my intention, and to give you my ſenti-'ments upon the queſtion, before I hear what Mr. *Pulteney*'s ſpeech.

'he has to ſay. As this, I ſay, ſeems to be the 'opinion of the houſe, I ſhall not preſume to 'ſay it is partial; but I muſt obſerve, that it is 'contrary to the eſtabliſhed practice in all other 'caſes in this houſe, and in all the courts of juſ-'tice I have ever heard of; for both in this houſe, 'upon all other occaſions, and in all other courts, 'the petitioner or proſecutor is always allow'd to 'reply; and if this method had been obſerved 'upon this occaſion, I ſhould have reſerved my-'ſelf for the reply, in which caſe I ſhould have 'taken particular care not to have mentioned any 'new charge, but would have confined myſelf 'intirely to thoſe facts, that had been before men-'tioned in the debate. This ſhould have been 'my method, had I been allowed to ſpeak by 'way of reply; but now, I think, I may take 'the liberty, if I think fit, to take notice of ſome 'facts that have not been yet mentioned in the 'debate; and I hope the houſe will give me leave 'to explain a little farther, ſome of thoſe weak or 'wicked meaſures that have been already men-'tioned.

'To begin, Sir, with our foreign affairs: I 'muſt go a little farther back than the treaty of '*Hanover*, in order to ſhew the weakneſs of 'that treaty; and if I can ſhew, that the mi-'niſter, whoſe conduct is now the ſubject of 'debate, muſt himſelf have been conſcious of 'the weakneſs of that treaty, it was then wicked 'in him to approve of it, or to purſue that per-'nicious plan of politicks, upon which it was 'founded. Sir, the plan, and the right plan of 'politicks, which had been purſu'd during the 'whole reign of King *William*, and the whole 'reign of Queen *Anne*, till towards the latter end 'of it, when a new miniſtry began to take new 'meaſures, was to diminiſh the power of the

'houſe of *Bourbon*, and add to the power of the 'houſe of *Auſtria*, in order to preſerve a balance 'of power in *Europe*. In execution of this plan we 'joined, not as auxiliaries, but as principals, in 'two dangerous wars againſt *France*: We ex- 'pended many millions; we run ourſelves many 'millions in debt, moſt part of which remains as 'yet a load upon this nation; and the Earl of '*Oxford*, our miniſter at the end of the Queen's 'reign, was impeach'd the beginning of laſt reign, 'for not purſuing this plan. The chief article a- 'gainſt that miniſter was, his having, by the 'peace of *Utrecht*, left the power of the houſe of '*Auſtria* too ſmall in *Italy* and *Flanders*, and the 'kingdom of *Spain* under a ſort of dependence 'upon the court of *France*. This, I ſay, was 'the chief article of impeachment againſt that no- 'ble Earl, and this our preſent miniſter could not 'be ignorant of, becauſe he was chairman of that 'very committee, which drew up thoſe articles of 'impeachment, and was then one of the warmeſt 'proſecutors of that noble Earl.

'To remedy one of the faults found with the 'treaty of *Utrecht*, we entered into a negotiation, 'ſoon after the acceſſion of his late Majeſty, for 'giving *Sicily* to the Emperor, in exchange for '*Sardinia*, which exchange was eſtabliſhed by the 'treaty of *London* in the year 1716, and as that 'treaty was ſigned by this very gentleman, he 'could not be ignorant of the plan of politicks 'upon which it was founded. In ſupport of this 'plan, we were obliged to engage in a war againſt '*Spain*, which occaſioned our deſtroying their 'fleet in the *Mediterranean* in the year 1718; 'and this very plan was the chief foundation 'of the Quadruple Alliance, which *Spain* after- 'wards acceded to, though the conditions of that 'acceſſion are not, as yet, I believe, fully known.

'Thus we got one of the faults found with the 'treaty of *Utrecht* amended, and as to the other, 'it was by the hand of God very ſoon removed; 'for by the death of the late King of *France*, and 'the Regent's ſetting aſide his will, which, luck-'ily for this nation, happened ſoon after his late 'Majeſty's acceſſion, the dependence of the court 'of *Spain* upon that of *France* was remov'd, and 'an enmity eſtabliſhed between the two courts, 'which ſoon after broke out into an open war.

'By theſe means the two chief faults that had 'been found with the treaty of *Utrecht*, were 'both rectified; and thus the affairs of *Europe* 'ſtood, when this miniſter began firſt to have an 'influence over our councils. Whilſt a jealouſy, 'or rather enmity ſubſiſted between the courts of '*France* and *Spain*, it was reaſonable enough for 'us to keep a correſpondence with the court of '*France*, eſpecially as at that time we had a diſ-'pute with the court of *Spain*; but as that enmity 'ceaſed by the Regent's death, and as a good 'correſpondence was reſtored between theſe two 'courts, by the young King of *France*'s being 'married to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, we ought then 'again to have begun to be upon our guard againſt 'the ambition of the houſe of *Bourbon*, and for 'this purpoſe we ought to have continued to cul-'tivate a good correſpondence with the houſe of '*Auſtria*, and we ought to have endeavoured, by 'all the artful means we could think of, to inter-'rupt that correſpondence, which had been re-'eſtabliſhed between the courts of *France* and '*Spain*, and to accommodate all the differences 'ſubſiſting between the courts of *Spain* and *Vien-'na*. According to the plan of politicks purſued 'ever ſince the Revolution, theſe ſhould have 'been the ends propoſed in all our negotiations; 'and for accompliſhing theſe ends, a moſt happy

'and

'and unlook'd-for accident occurred, by the court 'of *France*'s ſending back the *Infanta* of *Spain*, 'and getting their King married to his preſent 'Queen.

'This, Sir, was one of the moſt lucky accidents 'that could have happened for this nation, and 'for *Europe*, if we had known how to have made 'the right uſe of it. The court of *Spain* imme-'diately broke off all correſpondence with that of '*France*, and offered to refer all their differences 'with the court of *Vienna* to our ſole mediation; 'but our preſent miniſter had then got almoſt the 'ſole direction of our publick councils, and upon 'this occaſion the plan of politicks he had laid 'down to himſelf, firſt began to appear: This 'plan was, That as long as the court of *France* 'did nothing to diſturb or interrupt his poſſeſſion 'of power in this kingdom, he would do nothing 'that might diſpleaſe them; but on the contrary, 'would do all they deſired, and connive at what 'they had a mind to do, as far as was conſiſtent 'with his ſafety here at home. This, I ſay, was 'his plan: That it is the plan he has ever ſince 'purſued, I ſhall make appear from the whole 'tenor of his conduct; and, when we conſider 'the nature of it, we cannot wonder at his having 'employ'd ſuch a near relation, in concerting and 'eſtabliſhing ſuch a plan. In purſuance of this 'plan, and directly contrary to that plan of poli-'ticks we ſhould have purſued, and for which we 'had expended ſo much blood and treaſure, he 'refuſed to accept of this ſole mediation offer'd 'us by *Spain*, or to make any advantage of this 'difference that had happened between the courts 'of *France* and *Spain*. From our refuſing to ac-'cept of this mediation, the court of *France* had 'ſome reaſon to hope, that the differences be-'tween the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* might

'remain unaccommodated, till ſhe ſhould find an 'opportunity for making up the breach occaſioned 'by ſending back the *Infanta* of *Spain*; but the 'court of *Spain* were ſo irritated at the affront put 'upon them, that they reſolved at any rate to 'accommodate their differences with the court of '*Vienna*, and for this purpoſe they ſent a miniſter 'privately to *Vienna*, by whoſe means treaties of 'peace, guaranty and commerce were concluded 'between the two courts in the beginning of the 'year 1725.

'The concluding of theſe treaties, Sir, and the 'good correſpondence thereby eſtabliſhed between 'the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, gave a moſt 'juſt and reaſonable alarum to *France*. As the 'court of *Spain* was highly and moſt juſtly irri-'tated againſt her, and as the houſe of *Auſtria* 'was her moſt dangerous and moſt inveterate 'enemy, ſhe had great reaſon to be afraid of a 'cloſe union between theſe two powers: She had 'even ſome reaſon to fear an immediate attack. 'But all the other powers of *Europe*, and this na-'tion in particular, according to our ancient and 'right plan of politicks, had reaſon to rejoice at 'this union: Even ſuppoſe the Emperor and *Spain* 'had jointly attack'd *France*, we might have 'look'd on with indifference, till one of the par-'ties had begun to puſh her conqueſts too far. 'Till this had happened, even the *Dutch* might 'have look'd on with indifference; for though 'there was at that time a diſpute ſubſiſting be-'tween them and the Emperor, in relation to the '*Oſtend* company, that diſpute was not of ſuch 'conſequence as to occaſion a breach; and if the 'Emperor had, in conjunction with *Spain*, reſol-'ved to attack *France*, he would certainly have 'ſacrificed that company, for the ſake of gaining 'a neutrality from the *Dutch*.

'Accord-

'Accordingly, Sir, we ſaw, that the *Dutch* 'teſtified no apprehenſions from thoſe treaties, or 'from the cloſe union thereby eſtabliſhed between 'the Emperor and *Spain*. But upon this occaſion 'our miniſter's plan of politicks produced a new 'effect, which has been attended with many no-'table miſchiefs to this nation, and has now at 'laſt quite overturned the balance of power in '*Europe*. As *France* had moſt juſtly taken the 'alarum, and found ſhe could not inſtil any fears 'into the *Dutch*, ſhe had recourſe to our miniſter 'here, in order to fill our court with apprehen-'ſions from thoſe treaties, that had been conclu-'ded between the Emperor and *Spain* at *Vienna*. 'For this purpoſe, ſhe invented a ſtory of her 'having had certain information from *Vienna*, that 'there were ſome ſecret articles, by which the 'Emperor and *Spain* had agreed to take *Gibraltar* 'and *Port Mahon* from us, to defeat the Proteſtant 'ſucceſſion by reſtoring the Pretender, and to ruin 'our trade with *Spain* by granting many conſider-'able advantages to the Emperor's ſubjects; and 'that the only way we had to guard againſt theſe 'terrible deſigns, was by entering into a defenſive 'alliance with her.

'Though this ſtory was in itſelf ridiculous, 'becauſe of its being impracticable for the Empe-'ror and *Spain* to effectuate any of thoſe deſigns 'againſt us: Though both the Emperor and King 'of *Spain* expreſsly denied there being any ſuch 'ſecret articles: Though they invited us to accede 'to the treaties concluded between them; and 'though it was very much the nation's intereſt to 'do ſo; yet ſuch was our miniſter's influence over 'our councils, ſuch his attachment to the plan of 'politicks he had laid down for his own conduct, 'that he prevailed on his late Majeſty to give 'credit to this improbable *French* ſtory, and to

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'conclude with *France* the treaty of *Hanover* in '*September* 1725, which treaty the King of *Pruſſia* 'was drawn into, by making him believe, that 'one of the deſigns of it was, to reſtore the Pro-'teſtants of *Thorn*, and ſecure the obſervance of 'the treaty of *Oliva*; but he ſoon ſaw, the other 'contracting parties had no ſuch deſign, and 'therefore he ſoon left them.

'Thus, Sir, we were drawn in to ſecure *France* 'againſt being attack'd by the Emperor and *Spain*, 'when, according to our ancient plan of politicks, 'we ſhould rather have promoted that attack; 'becauſe we might eaſily have taken care that 'neither ſide ſhould have puſhed the war too far, 'and in the mean time our trade would have 'greatly increaſed by the decay of the trade of '*France*. I know, Sir, it will be ſaid, that the 'miniſter, whoſe conduct is now the queſtion be-'fore us, had no hand in that treaty, becauſe he 'was not at *Hanover* when it was concluded; but 'as he had then the chief direction of our affairs, 'and as it is very improbable any *Engliſh* miniſter 'at *Hanover* ſhould conclude a treaty of ſuch im-'portance, without the advice of the council here, 'therefore the treaty's being ſigned at *Hanover*, 'is no proof of his having had no hand in it. 'But, I hope, it will not be pretended, that he 'had no hand in adviſing the meaſures taken in 'purſuance of this treaty; and I ſhall now ſhew, 'that thoſe meaſures were more pernicious, and 'more plainly demonſtrated his dependance upon 'the councils of *France*, than the treaty itſelf. 'The treaty was no more than a defenſive treaty, 'and if *France* had been attack'd, we were there-'by obliged to furniſh her with no more than 'eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, and 'that not till two months after application ſhould 'be made for them; ſo that we had not from this

'treaty the leaſt occaſion for putting ourſelves to 'the expence of augmenting our army, or of ta-'king any foreign troops into our pay, till ſuch 'an attack had been actually made; becauſe we 'ſhould then have had time enough to provide 'our ſtipulated quota of troops. And ſuppoſe 'there had been ſome truth in the ſtory of the 'ſecret articles between the Emperor and *Spain*, 'we had no occaſion to put ourſelves to the ex-'pence of ſending out any ſquadrons, till ſuch 'time as we had certain information of their pro-'viding a fleet of tranſports to invade us, becauſe 'we ſhould then have had time enough to ſend 'out a ſquadron ſufficient for diſappointing their 'deſigns.

'It is therefore impoſſible, Sir, to find out a 'reaſon for the meaſures we took in purſuance of 'this treaty, any other way than by conſidering 'what was the intereſt, and what at that time 'might be the views of the court of *France*. 'From thence, indeed, we may find a reaſon, and 'it was, I am fully convinced, the only true rea-'ſon. *France* had a mind not only to guard a-'gainſt her being attacked, but it was her intereſt, 'and ſhe certainly intended, to break that corre-'ſpondence which had been eſtabliſhed between 'the Emperor and *Spain*, and to chaſtiſe the court 'of *Spain* a little for daring to take any meaſures 'contrary to her intereſt; and both theſe ends 'they intended to accompliſh by means of her 'influence upon our miniſter, without putting 'herſelf to any great expence, or coming to any 'open breach either with the Emperor or *Spain*. 'Was this poſſible? Yes, Sir, by making the cat's 'paw of this nation, ſhe accompliſh'd all ſhe in-'tended, and in the manner ſhe intended. The 'neceſſity of pulling down the overgrown power 'of the houſe of *Auſtria*, became now the fa-

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'vourite topick of all our court politicians and 'pamphleteers; and in order to prevent the courts 'of *Vienna* and *Madrid* from carrying their dan-'gerous deſigns into execution, our miniſter pre-'vailed upon us to ſend out two powerful ſqua-'drons, one to inſult the *Spaniards* upon their 'own coaſts, and another to prevent the return of 'the galleons; but as *France* did not intend, that 'we ſhould reap any advantage to ourſelves, or 'do *Spain* any real injury, therefore, our ſqua-'drons were not to attack the *Spaniards* either by 'ſea or land, but only to perſuade them, in caſe 'we met with them at ſea, to deliver their trea-'ſure into our hands, in truſt for the ſeveral par-'ties concerned.

'Thus, Sir, *France* got us to chaſtiſe the court 'of *Spain* for daring to take any meaſures contrary 'to her intereſt; and then ſhe made a merit at 'that court, of her having prevented us from 'doing any miſchief to them, notwithſtanding 'their having declared war againſt us, and openly 'attacked our town of *Gibraltar*. By this means, 'ſhe laid a foundation for getting herſelf reconci-'led with the court of *Spain*, and by means of 'that reconcilement and her influence upon our 'miniſter, ſhe accompliſhed the other point ſhe 'had in view, which was to create a new breach 'between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. For 'this purpoſe, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty became 'now the mediator between us and the court of '*Spain*, and by his mediation the treaty of *Seville* 'was concluded, which created a new, and al-'moſt irreconcilable breach between the courts of '*Vienna* and *Madrid*.

'As by this treaty we were brought upon the 'brink of being forced to enter into a war, in 'conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, againſt the 'Emperor, the whole nation began to take the

'alarum,

'alarum, ſo that our miniſter was obliged now to 'conſult his own ſafety; and this drove him pre-'cipitately into the guaranty of the Pragmatick 'Sanction, in order to prevail upon the Emperor 'to admit the introduction of *Spaniſh* troops into 'the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Pla-'centia*. The treaty of *Seville* being, by this 'dangerous and raſh ſtep, fully executed upon 'our part, it was natural to expect a due perfor-'mance on the part of *Spain*; but *France* having 'now by our means recovered her influence over 'the court of *Spain*, and it being highly advan-'tageous for the trade of *France* to have diſputes 'always ſubſiſting between us and *Spain*, *France* 'took care that *Spain* ſhould perform nothing of 'what had been promiſed on her part by the trea-'ty of *Seville*, except, I think, the reſtitution of 'the ſhip *Prince Frederick*, and perhaps ſome of 'the other ſhips that had been ſeized in the ports 'of *Spain* at the beginning of the rupture. As 'to all our other demands, they remained unad-'juſted: The term for adjuſting them by com-'miſſaries expired; that term was again and again 'renewed, and in the mean time the *Spaniards* 'exerciſed the right they had ſet up, of ſearching 'our ſhips in the *American* ſeas, and ſeizing ſuch 'of them, as had any goods on board, which 'they were pleaſed to call contraband. By this, 'daily depredations were committed upon our 'merchants in the *Weſt-Indies*, daily complaints 'were made to our miniſter here; and thus af-'fairs ſtood, when *France*, in conjunction with '*Spain* and *Sardinia*, thought fit to attack the 'Emperor in the Year 1733, with an avowed 'deſign to ſtrip him of all his dominions in '*Italy*.

'In the beginning of the late reign, Sir, the 'power of the houſe of *Auſtria* was thought too

'weak

'weak without the addition of *Sicily* to their o-
'ther *Italian* dominions. A miniſter had been
'impeached for leaving that houſe in ſuch a weak
'condition by the treaty of *Utrecht*: We had
'procured him *Sicily* at the expence of a war with
'*Spain*; becauſe, without that addition, the ba-
'lance of power in *Europe*, it was thought, could
'not be ſecured. We had, therefore, three rea-
'ſons for joining with the Emperor in this new
'war; one founded upon the general intereſt of
'*Europe*, becauſe the balance of power would be
'overturned, ſhould the Emperor be ſtript of his
'*Italian* dominions: A ſecond founded upon our
'own honour, becauſe we had but two years be-
'fore guarantyed the Pragmatick Sanction, by
'which the Emperor was induced to admit of
'the introduction of *Spaniſh* troops into *Italy*,
'which troops were now employ'd in attacking
'him: And a third founded upon our own par-
'ticular intereſt, becauſe we could not otherwiſe
'expect to obtain ſatisfaction or ſecurity from
'*Spain*. Theſe, Sir, were weighty conſidera-
'tions; but the plan of politicks our miniſter
'had laid down, prevailed over all theſe; and
'we continued idle, tho' not expenceleſs ſpecta-
'tors, till the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* was
'diminiſhed by the loſs of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and
'the power of *France* increaſed by the acceſſion
'of *Lorain*.

'During this war, the *Spaniards* favoured us
'with ſome ſort of intermiſſion of depredations;
'but as ſoon as it was over, they renewed them
'with more vigour than ever, and openly boaſt-
'ed of their being encouraged, and that they
'would be protected againſt the effects of our
'reſentment, by *France*. As our trade in general,
'as well as our particular merchants, ſuffered
'greatly by theſe depredations, it was highly

'the

'the intereſt of the nation to inſiſt peremptorily 'upon ſatisfaction; but as this was contrary to 'the intereſt of *France*, our miniſter's plan of 'politicks prevailed over the intereſt of his 'country, and the cries of his countrymen. At 'laſt ſomething muſt be done for his ſafety 'here at home, and at a great expence a treaty 'was obtained, by which we neither got ſatiſ-'faction nor ſecurity, but a foundation for an-'other ten years trifling negotiation. This, he 'found, the nation was too wiſe to be amuſed 'with, and therefore he found himſelf under a 'neceſſity of entering into a war againſt *Spain*: 'This war, Sir, the court of *France* was oblig'd 'to connive at, rather than riſk the loſs of a 'miniſter, who had ſhewn himſelf ſo much their 'ſlave; but how was this war to be carried on? 'According to the intereſt of this nation, it was 'certainly to be carried on in the moſt vigorous 'manner, in order to make it of a ſhort dura-'tion; and the moſt exact care was to be taken 'of our trade, becauſe there only the enemy 'could hurt us: But according to the intereſt of '*France*, the war was to be carried on in that 'manner, which might make it the moſt laſting, 'and moſt expoſe our trade to ſuffer by *Spaniſh* 'privateers; becauſe by this means, our trade 'might at laſt be ruined paſt all redemption, and 'the trade of *France* eſtabliſh'd ſo, as to be out 'of our power to hurt it. I ſhall leave gentle-'men to judge, in which of theſe methods the 'war has been hitherto carried on; for if it has 'been carried on in the latter method, it is a 'proof that our miniſter has to this very day 'perſued that plan of politicks, which, I have 'ſaid, he laid down for his conduct, at the very 'beginning of his adminiſtration.

'I ſhall beg leave, Sir, to mention two other 'facts, as a farther proof of this plan. By the

'treaty

'treaty of *Utrecht*, the port and harbour of *Dun-*
'*kirk* were to be deſtroy'd, and never to be re-
'paired; and by a treaty between his late Ma-
'jeſty and *France*, in the year 1717, it was ſtipu-
'lated, that no port, haven, or fortification
'ſhould be made or built at *Dunkirk* or *Mardyke*,
'or any other place whatever along that coaſt,
'within two leagues of either of thoſe two places:
'Yet, Sir, as ſoon as this miniſter began to have
'the chief direction of our affairs, not only the
'*French* began to uſe *Dunkirk* as a port, but it
'was admitted as ſuch, and as a *Flemiſh* port too,
'notwithſtanding its being in the poſſeſſion of
'*France*, even upon our cuſtom-houſe books;
'and great quantities of *French* brandies were
'not only allowed to be imported from thence,
'but to be imported as *Flemiſh* brandies, by
'which they avoided paying the high duties im-
'poſed by law upon *French* brandies. This
'point being once gained, the *French* ſoon began
'to repair the port and harbour of *Dunkirk*, ſo
'as to make the hatbour fit for receiving very
'large ſhips; and now at laſt they have begun
'to repair the fortifications, and erect batteries;
'ſo that in caſe of a war with *France*, we may
'expect to have our trade as much infeſted by
'*Dunkirk* privateers, as ever it was in the laſt
'war.

'This, Sir, is a farther proof of our miniſter's
'complaiſance for *France*; and in order to add
'another to this, I muſt obſerve, that both
'*France* and *Spain* have *Iriſh* regiments in their
'ſervice; but tho' thoſe regiments are ſaid to be
'in the ſervice of *France* or *Spain*, and re-
'ceive their pay from his Moſt Chriſtian or his
'Moſt Catholick Majeſty, yet they are pro-
'perly in the ſervice of the Pretender, and ac-
'knowledge him for their King and chief Ma-
'ſter.

'ſter. Therefore, if it is not treaſon, it is ſome-
'thing very like treaſon, to aſſiſt or connive at
'the recruiting of thoſe regiments in any of his
'Majeſty's *Britiſh* dominions: Yet ſuch was our
'miniſter's complaiſance for *France*, that at their
'deſire he had like to have incurred being guilty
'of this crime. Nay, he would certainly have
'incurred it, and thoſe regiments would have
'been recruited openly in theſe kingdoms, and
'with the conſent of our adminiſtration, if ſome
'of thoſe whom he has long look'd on as his
'enemies, had not warned him of his danger,
'which ſhews, that their oppoſition to his mea-
'ſures did not proceed from malice and reſent-
'ment, as he has always inſinuated, but from a
'ſincere regard to the good of their country;
'for ſurely a malicious enemy would have been
'glad to have ſeen him commit ſuch a criminal
'error, and would, therefore, have taken care
'not to prevent his being guilty of it, by fore-
'warning him of his danger.

'Having now, I hope, Sir, ſufficiently demon-
'ſtrated our miniſter's plan of politicks with
'regard to foreign affairs, I ſhall now en-
'deavour to inveſtigate and demonſtrate his
'plan of politicks with regard to our dome-
'ſtick affairs; and here, he ſeems to have laid
'it down as a rule, to govern by the ſole
'means of bribery and corruption, and for this
'purpoſe, to prevent our being able to leſſen
'our debts, or aboliſh any of our taxes, by run-
'ning the nation every year into extraordinary
'and unneceſſary charges, and by every other
'method he could contrive. Upon his firſt ac-
'ceſſion to the ſole direction of our publick af-
'fairs, we were in a fair way of being able in a
'ſhort time to pay off every ſhilling of our pub-
'lick debt. The *South-Sea* ſcheme, by its being

'ſo wickedly conducted, had, indeed, ruined 'many private men, but it was of ſingular ſer-'vice, and might have been made of much 'greater ſervice to the publick. Our irre-'deemables were thereby made redeemable: 'The intereſt payable upon moſt of our pub-'lick debts was to be reduced in a few years 'from five to four *per Cent*; and the *South-Sea* 'company were obliged to pay off ſeven millions 'of our debts at once, by ſinking ſo much of 'their capital. By theſe means, the ſinking 'fund would have been ſo much increaſed, that 'if it had been religiouſly applied, our publick 'debts might have been by this time almoſt en-'tirely diſcharged, and all our grievous taxes abo-'liſh'd; but this would have very much leſſen'd 'the miniſter's fund for corruption, by demoliſh-'ing many of thoſe poſts and places which he 'has at his diſpoſal; and therefore, according to 'his plan, this effect was by all means to be pre-'vented: The publick charge was to be yearly 'increaſed, in order to oblige us to apply the 'the ſinking fund to the current ſervice, or to 'run as much in debt with one hand, as we paid 'off with the other; and the land tax was to 'be repreſented as the moſt grievous tax to the 'nation, becauſe it furniſhed him with the leaſt 'means for corruption.

'In purſuance of theſe maxims, the ſeven mil-'lions due by the *South-Sea* company to the pub-'lick was generouſly releaſed, and the expences 'of the civil liſt were ſo much increaſed, that a 'new debt of 500,000*l.* was contracted in the 'year 1725, for paying the debts of the civil 'liſt, tho' the like ſum had been granted to his 'late Majeſty, for the ſame purpoſe, but four 'years before; and upon his preſent Majeſty's 'acceſſion, an addition of 100,000*l.* a year was 'made to the civil liſt revenue, beſides the

'115,000*l.*

'115,000 *l.* which was granted for making good 'a pretended deficiency in that revenue. But 'what furniſhed him with the beſt pretence for 'increaſing the publick charge, was the famous 'treaty of *Hanover* in the year 1725. For pre-'venting the dangers with which *Europe* was 'threatened from the overgrown power of the 'houſe of *Auſtria*, he did not think it ſufficient 'to put this nation to the expence of augment-'ing our own armies, and fitting out ſeveral 'ſquadrons, but we muſt likewiſe take foreign 'armies and foreign Princes into our pay. Sure-'ly, Sir, if *Europe* had at that time been in any 'danger from the overgrown power of the houſe 'of *Auſtria*, this nation was the laſt, and had the 'leaſt to fear, therefore we ſhould have been 'the laſt that put ourſelves to any expence for 'guarding againſt that danger, and yet we were 'not only the firſt, but the only power in *Europe* 'that put itſelf to any expence upon that ac-'count. The *Dutch*, that lay moſt expoſed, were 'ſo very little apprehenſive, that they did not ſo 'much as accede to the treaty of *Hanover*, till 'near a year after it was made; and the *French* 'who had moſt to fear from an alliance be-'tween the Emperor and *Spain*, put themſelves to 'little or no expence, nor gave us any aſſiſtance 'when we were openly attack'd by *Spain*, on ac-'count of what we did for preventing the dan-'ger they lay expoſed to. Whereas we took '12,000 *Heſſians* immediately into our pay, 'granted ſubſidies to the King of *Sweden*, the 'King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*; 'and what was moſt extraordinary, the ſubſidy 'to the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*, was not granted 'till half a year after we had made up matters 'with the Emperor, and the *Heſſian* troops were 'continued in our pay for ſeveral years after.

'I muſt therefore conclude, Sir, that all the

'extraordinary expence we put ourſelves to on 'account of, or conſequent to the treaty of *Ha-* 'nover, could proceed from nothing but a deſign 'to prevent our paying off any conſiderable part 'of our debts, or aboliſhing any of our taxes; and 'the aboliſhing of the ſalt duty in the year 1730, 'in order to diminiſh the ſinking fund, and revi- 'ving it again in the year 1732, in the eaſe of 'the land tax, is a farther proof of this deſign. 'But as it would be tedious to mention all the 'arguments that might be brought in proof of 'this deſign, and as I have taken up too much 'of your time already, I ſhall trouble you with 'no more of them, except the defeating of that 'ſcheme which was offer'd to this very Parlia- 'ment, for reducing the intereſt payable upon all 'our funds, or for putting it out of the power 'of any future miniſter to prevent the nation's 'getting rid of its debt by degrees. We muſt 'all remember by what means, and by whom, 'that ſcheme was defeated, and conſidering how 'practicable it was at that time, which I am 'afraid, it will never be again, we muſt, I think, 'conclude, that the miniſter who defeated it, 'could have no deſign that our debts ſhould 'ever be paid, or our taxes diminiſhed.

'Before I have done, Sir, with this miniſter's 'conduct, I muſt take notice of one thing which 'has been too often practiſed under all miniſters, 'and that is, the letting of publick ſecurities 'ſtand out, without any fund for their payment, 'till they run to a great diſcount, when they are 'bought up by the miniſter's friends and tools, 'perhaps in truſt for himſelf, and then a fund is 'provided for paying them off at the full 'price. This, I ſay, has been too often practiſed 'under all miniſters, when they could have any 'opportunity for it, and this has not been left 'unpractiſed under this miniſter. We all know

'what

'what a prodigious ſum the debts due to the 'army, and to foreign States, were at laſt brought 'to, which continued for ſeveral years to circu- 'late under the name of army debentures, at an 'intereſt of four *per Cent.* without any fund for 'paying off the principal. Moſt of thoſe de- 'bentures that were certified before the 21ſt of '*March* 1719, were ſubſcribed into the *South-Sea* 'company, but of them there remained unſub- 'ſcribed near 400,000 *l.* and after the 21ſt of '*March* 1719, new army debentures were made 'out for debts not before certified for near '550,000 *l.* ſo that for ſome time before the 'year 1727, there was near a million circulating 'in army debentures at four *per Cent.* with- 'out any certain fund for paying the principal; 'or as the ſinking fund had been appropria- 'ted to the payment of debts contracted before 'the year 1716, ſome people doubted if it could 'be applied to the payment of theſe debentures; 'and as there was always a great number of 'them at market, they came at laſt to be ſold 'at above 30 *l. per Cent.* diſcount. But towards 'the latter end of the year 1726, all that could 'be got at any diſcount were bought up, and 'a certain ſhop in this city was particularly no- 'ted for the purchaſing ſuch debentures. At 'laſt, upon the 7th of *March* 1726, a reſolution 'was come to in this houſe, to pay off all thoſe 'army debentures, of which publick notice was 'given, and by an act of the ſame ſeſſion, the 'ſinking fund was appropriated to the paying 'off of all theſe debentures at their full price, 'by which the laſt purchaſers got in a few 'months above 30 *per Cent.* clear profit.

'Whether the miniſter himſelf was perſonally 'concerned in this jobb, I ſhall not pretend, 'Sir, to determine, but ſome of his friends were 'known to be concerned in it; and whether he

'was concerned or no, is, I am ſure, a queſtion 'that can never be determined as long as he 'has the ſole direction of all our publick affairs. 'If he was perſonally concerned, or even if he 'gave private notice to his friends, it was cer-'tainly highly criminal; but as a proof of ſuch 'facts cannot be expected whilſt he is in power, 'and as upon this motion we have no occaſion 'for alledging ſuch particular crimes againſt 'him, much leſs for proving them, I ſhall not 'mention any more of them, tho' there are 'others, of much the ſame nature, of which he 'has been ſuſpected. I ſay, Sir, we have no 'occaſion for alledging or proving any ſuch 'crimes for ſupporting this motion; and I muſt 'ſay, I am greatly ſurpriſed to hear, that ſome 'gentlemen who, I believe, mean well, eſpeci-'ally an honourable gentleman who ſpoke ſome 'time ſince, ſhould not be able to diſtin-'guiſh between a motion for impeaching a mi-'niſter, and a motion for removing him from 'the King's councils. A motion for an im-'peachment muſt be ſupported by ſome particu-'lar allegations of a criminal nature, and by 'ſome ſort of proof of thoſe allegations, be-'fore this houſe can agree to it; but a motion 'for removing him is ſufficiently founded, if 'from the whole tenor of his conduct it appears 'in general, that he muſt either have bad de-'ſigns, or muſt be a very weak man. I have ex-'plained this miniſter's plan of politicks, with 'regard both to foreign and domeſtick affairs: 'I have ſhewn, I think, ſuch ſtrong preſump-'tions of this being his plan of politicks, that 'we muſt conclude him either a very wicked, or 'a very weak miniſter. Let us conſider, Sir, 'what we have to do next ſummer: We are 'to have a general election for a new Parlia-'ment: We are to form alliances, and concert

'meaſures

'measures for preſerving a balance of power in 'Europe, otherwiſe it will be irrecoverably loſt. 'Can we expect a fair or a free election, whilſt 'we have a miniſter at the helm, who has laid it 'down as a maxim, to govern by the ſole means 'of bribery and corruption? Can we expect, that 'any of the powers of *Europe* will enter into any 'alliance or concert with us, whilſt our affairs are 'under the ſole direction of a miniſter who has 'ſhewn himſelf ſuch a ſlave to *France?*

'What a danger then, Sir, muſt the liberties 'of this nation be expoſed to; what a danger 'muſt the liberties of *Europe* be expoſed to, by 'continuing this miniſter but for one year longer 'in power? If the honourable gentleman would 'conſider this, Sir, I am ſure, he would not talk 'of returning him good for evil, or of doing this 'miniſter and his family that juſtice which he de-'nied to his. To vote for continuing a man in a 'poſt, which he has ſhewn himſelf to be very un-'fit for, is doing him neither good nor juſtice: It 'is like putting a ſword in the hands of a mad-'man or ruffian; and to continue him in the ſole 'direction of our publick affairs at ſuch a critical 'conjuncture, is doing the greateſt evil, the great-'eſt injuſtice to our country. Therefore, I hope, 'every gentleman who, from this miniſter's for-'mer conduct, and from the preſent melancholy 'ſituation of affairs, both abroad and at home, 'thinks he has reaſon to ſuſpect his being either a 'very wicked, or a very weak miniſter, will give 'his affirmative to the preſent queſtion.'

The next, and the laſt that ſpoke upon this ſubject, was Sir *Robert Walpole*, (now Earl of *Orford*) the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows, *viz.*

'Mr. Speaker,

Sir *Robert Walpole's* ſpeech.

'Sir, I confeſs, I am at a loſs what to ſay, or 'how to juſtify myſelf on this occaſion. I had 'often heard, that ſome ſuch motion was deſigned 'againſt me; but I was always at a loſs to con-'jecture what the honourable gentlemen might 'have to ſay in ſupport of their motion. My 'own innocence convinced me, they had no real 'crime, nor any wilful neglect to lay to my 'charge; and I therefore ſuppoſed, they had 'heard ſome malicious ſtories, which they had 'given too much credit to, and which I might 'eaſily ſhew the falſhood of, when I came to 'hear them explained. But now I have heard the 'whole charge againſt me, I do not think there 'is any one part of it, except one ſingle fact, 'which is not a charge, not only againſt his Ma-'jeſty and all thoſe of his council, but alſo againſt 'both houſes of Parliament, as well as againſt me. 'If I were to anſwer for myſelf alone, I ſhould 'think my taſk very eaſy; but as I am to anſwer 'for King, Lords and Commons, it gives me 'great pain, leſt their cauſe ſhould ſuffer through 'any incapacity in me: Yet, dangerous and pain-'ful as the taſk is, I muſt undertake it, and ſhall 'be as conciſe, as the nature of the caſe will ad-'mit of.

'I have, indeed, this advantage, Sir, that all 'the objections now made to the conduct of the 'adminiſtration, have been already anſwered to 'the ſatisfaction of a majority of both houſes of 'Parliament, and I believe, to the ſatisfaction of 'a majority of the better ſort of people in the 'nation; therefore, I need only repeat a few of 'thoſe anſwers that have been made already, 'which I ſhall do in the order of time in which 'the ſeveral tranſactions happened, and conſe-'quently muſt begin with our refuſing to accept

'of

'of the ſole mediation offered us by *Spain*, upon 'the breach between that court and the court of '*France*, about the latter's breaking off the in- 'tended marriage between their King and the In- 'fanta of *Spain*. I hope it will not be ſaid, we 'had any reaſon to quarrel with *France* upon that 'account; and therefore, if our accepting of that 'mediation might have occaſioned our quarrelling 'with *France*, we had no buſineſs with it, unleſs 'we had ſomething very beneficial for ourſelves 'to expect by the acceptance. A reconciliation 'between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* was, 'tis true, what was to be wiſhed for by all *Eu- 'rope*, as well as by us, provided it had been 'brought about without any deſign to diſturb our 'tranquillity, or the tranquillity of *Europe*; but 'both parties were then ſo high in their demands, 'that we could hope for no ſucceſs; and if the 'negotiation had ended without effect, we might 'have expected the common fate of arbitrators, the 'diſobliging of both parties. Therefore, as it was 'our intereſt to keep well with both, I muſt ſtill 'think it was the moſt prudent part we could 'act, to refuſe the mediation offered.

'The next ſtep of our foreign conduct found 'fault with, is the treaty of *Hanover*. Sir, if I 'were to give the true hiſtory of that treaty, 'which no gentleman can deſire I ſhould, I am 'ſure, I could fully juſtify my own conduct; but 'as I do not deſire to juſtify my own, without 'juſtifying at the ſame time his late Majeſty's 'conduct, I muſt obſerve, that his late Majeſty 'had ſuch information, as convinced not only 'him, but all thoſe of his council, both at home 'and abroad, that ſome dangerous deſigns had 'been formed between the Emperor and *Spain*, 'at the time of their concluding the treaty at *Vi- 'enna* in *May* 1725. Deſigns, Sir, which were 'dangerous not only to the liberties of this nation,

'but

'but to the liberties of *Europe*. They were not 'only to wreſt *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* from 'this nation, and to force the Pretender upon us, 'but they were to have *Don Carlos* married to the 'Emperor's eldeſt daughter, who would thereby 'have had a probability of uniting in his perſon, 'or in the perſon of ſome of his ſucceſſors, the 'crowns of *France* and *Spain* with the Imperial 'dignity, and the *Auſtrian* dominions. It was 'therefore highly reaſonable, both in *France* and 'us, to take the alarum at ſuch deſigns, and to 'think betimes of preventing their being carried 'into execution. But with regard to us, it was 'more particularly our buſineſs to take the alarum, 'becauſe we were to have been immediately at-'tack'd.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, it would have been very 'difficult, if not impoſſible, for *Spain* and the 'Emperor, joined together, to have invaded, or 'made themſelves maſters of any of his Majeſty's '*Britiſh* dominions; but will it be ſaid, they 'might not have invaded his Majeſty's dominions 'in *Germany*, in order to force him to a compli-'ance with what they deſired of him, as King of '*Great Britain?* And if thoſe dominions had 'been invaded on account of a quarrel with this 'nation, ſhould not we have been obliged both in 'honour and intereſt to defend them? When we 'were thus threatened, it was therefore abſolutely 'neceſſary for us to make an alliance with *France*; 'and that we might not truſt too much to their 'aſſiſtance, it was likewiſe neceſſary to form alli-'ances with the northern powers, and with ſome 'of the Princes in *Germany*, which we never did, 'nor ever could do, without granting them im-'mediate ſubſidies. Theſe meaſures were there-'fore, I ſtill think, not only prudent but neceſſa-'ry, and by theſe meaſures we made it much

'more

'more dangerous for the Emperor and *Spain* to 'attack us, than it would otherwiſe have been.

'But ſtill, Sir, though by theſe alliances we 'put ourſelves upon an equal footing with our 'enemies, in caſe of an attack, yet, in order to 'preſerve the tranquillity of *Europe*, as well as our 'own, there was ſomething elſe to be done. We 'knew that war could not be begun or carried on 'without money; we knew that the Emperor 'had no money for that purpoſe, without receiv-'ing large remittances from *Spain*; and we knew 'that *Spain* could ſend him no ſuch remittances 'without receiving large returns of treaſure from 'the *Weſt-Indies*. The only way therefore to 'render theſe two powers incapable of diſturbing 'the tranquillity of *Europe* was, by ſending a 'ſquadron to the *Weſt-Indies* to ſtop the return of 'the *Spaniſh* galleons; and this made it neceſſary 'at the ſame time to ſend a ſquadron to the *Me-'diterranean*, for the ſecurity of our valuable 'poſſeſſions in that part of the world. By theſe 'meaſures the Emperor ſaw it was impoſſible for 'him to attack us in any part of the world, be-'cauſe *Spain* could give him no aſſiſtance, either 'in money or troops; and as for the *Spaniards* 'attack upon *Gibraltar*, it was ſo vain, we had 'no occaſion to call upon our allies for aſſiſtance: 'A ſmall ſquadron of our own prevented their 'attacking it by ſea, and from their attack at 'land we had nothing to fear; they might have 'knock'd their brains out againſt inacceſſible rocks, 'to this very day, without bringing that fortreſs 'into any danger.

'I do not pretend, Sir, to be a great maſter of 'foreign affairs: In that poſt in which I have the 'honour to ſerve his Majeſty, it is not my buſi-'neſs to meddle with them; and as one of his 'Majeſty's council I have but one voice; but if I 'had been the ſole adviſer of the treaty of *Hano-*

'*ver*,

'*ver*, and all the meaſures that were taken in 'purſuance of it, from what I have ſaid, I hope 'it will appear, that I do not deſerve to be cen-'ſured, either as a weak or a wicked miniſter on 'that account; and now with regard to the gua-'ranty of the Pragmatick Sanction, I am really 'ſurpriſed to find that meaſure objected to; it was 'ſo univerſally approved of, both within doors 'and without, that till this very day I think no 'fault was ever found with it, unleſs it was that 'of its being too long delayed. If it was ſo ne-'ceſſary for ſupporting the balance of power in '*Europe*, as has been inſiſted on in this debate, to 'preſerve intire the dominions of the houſe of '*Auſtria*, ſurely it was not our buſineſs to inſiſt 'upon a partition of them in favour of any of the 'Princes of the Empire. But if we had, could 'we have expected, that the houſe of *Auſtria* 'would have agreed to any ſuch partition, even 'for the gaining of our guaranty? The King of '*Pruſſia* had, it is true, a claim upon ſome Lord-'ſhips in *Sileſia*, but that claim was abſolutely 'denied by the court of *Vienna*, and was not at 'that time ſo much as inſiſted on by the late King 'of *Pruſſia:* Nay, if he had liv'd till this time, 'I believe, it would not now have been inſiſted 'on; for he acceded to that guaranty without any 'reſervation of that claim; therefore, I muſt look 'upon this as an objection, which has ſince ariſen 'from an accident, that could not then be fore-'ſeen nor provided againſt.

'I muſt therefore think, Sir, that our guaran-'tying the Pragmatick Sanction, or our manner 'of doing it, cannot now be objected to, nor any 'perſon cenſured by Parliament for adviſing that 'meaſure; but though it was prudent and right 'in us to enter into that guaranty, we were not 'therefore obliged to enter into every broil the 'houſe of *Auſtria* might afterwards lead them-

'ſelves

'ſelves into; and therefore, we were not in ho-
'nour oblig'd to take any ſhare in the war which
'the Emperor brought upon himſelf in the year
'1733, nor were we in intereſt obliged to take a
'ſhare in that war, as long as neither ſide attempt-
'ed to puſh their conqueſts farther than was con-
'ſiſtent with the balance of power in *Europe*,
'which was a caſe that did not happen; for the
'power of the houſe of *Auſtria* was not diminiſh-
'ed by the event of that war, becauſe they got
'*Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, in lieu of *Naples*
'and *Sicily*; nor was the power of *France* much
'increaſed, becauſe *Lorain* was a province ſhe had
'always taken and kept poſſeſſion of, during eve-
'ry war ſhe has been lately engaged in. And as
'to our diſputes with *Spain*, they were not then
'come to ſuch a height, as to make it neceſſary
'for us to come to an open rupture. We had
'then reaſon to hope, that all differences would
'be accommodated in an amicable manner; and
'whilſt we have any ſuch hopes, it can never be
'prudent for us to engage ourſelves in war, eſpe-
'cially with *Spain*, where we have always had a
'very beneficial commerce.

'Theſe hopes, 'tis true, Sir, at laſt proved a-
'bortive, but I never heard it was a crime in any
'one to hope for the beſt. It was this ſort of
'hope that was the cauſe of the late convention,
'and if *Spain* had performed her part of that
'preliminary treaty, I am ſure, it would not have
'been wrong in us, to have hoped for a friendly
'accommodation, and for that end to have waited
'for nine or ten months longer, in which time
'the plenipotentiaries were by the treaty to have
'adjuſted all the differences ſubſiſting between
'the two nations. But as *Spain* failed in perform-
'ing what ſhe had agreed to by this preliminary,
'it put an end to all our hopes, and then, and
'not till then, it became both prudent and neceſ-

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'ſary for us to begin hoſtilities, which were accordingly begun as ſoon as poſſible after the elapſing of the time in which *Spain* was to have paid the 95,000 *l.* Thus the preſent war began, and as I am neither General nor Admiral, as I have nothing to do, either with our navy or army, I am ſure, I am not to anſwer for the proſecution of it. But were I to anſwer for every thing, no fault could, I think, be found with my conduct in the proſecution of the war. It has from the beginning been carried on with as much vigour, and as great care taken of our trade, as was conſiſtent with our ſafety at home, and with the circumſtances we were in at the beginning of the war. If our attacks upon the enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been ſo vigorous or ſo frequent as they ought to have been, thoſe only are to blame who have for many years been haranguing againſt regular troops and ſtanding armies; for without a ſufficient number of ſuch, in proportion to the numbers kept up by our neighbours, I am ſure, we can neither defend ourſelves, nor offend our enemies.

'I now come, Sir, to the conduct of our domeſtick affairs, and here a heavy charge is laid, as if the nation had been run into an extraordinary and unneceſſary expence, in order to prevent our being able to pay off our debts, or aboliſh our taxes. Sir, if there be any ground for this charge, it is a charge againſt both houſes of Parliament, as well as againſt the adminiſtration. No publick expence has been incurred but what has been approved of and provided for by Parliament: The publick treaſure has been duly applied to the uſes to which it was appropriated by Parliament, and regular accounts have been annually laid before Parliament of every article of publick expence. If by foreign accidents, by

'the diſputes of foreign ſtates among themſelves, 'or by their deſigns againſt us, the nation has 'often been put to an extraordinary expence, that 'expence cannot be ſaid to have been unneceſſary, 'becauſe, if by ſaving that expence, we had ex-'poſed the balance of power to danger, or our-'ſelves to an attack, it would have coſt us, per-'haps, a hundred times the ſum, before we could 'recover from that danger, or repel that attack.

'In all ſuch caſes there will be a variety of o-'pinions. I happened to be one of thoſe who 'thought all thoſe expences neceſſary, and I had 'the good luck to have the majority of both 'houſes of Parliament on my ſide of the queſtion; 'but this, it ſeems, proceeded from bribery and 'corruption. Sir, if any one inſtance had been 'mentioned: If it had been ſhewn, that I ever 'offered a reward to any member of either houſe, 'or ever threatned to deprive any member of his 'office or employment, in order to influence his 'voting in Parliament, there might have been 'ſome ground for this charge; but when it is ſo 'generally laid, I do not know what I can ſay to 'it, unleſs it be to deny it as generally and as 'poſitively as it has been aſſerted; and, thank 'God! till ſome proof be offered, I have the laws 'of the land, as well as the laws of charity in my 'favour. Some members of both houſes have, 'tis true, been removed from their employments 'under the crown; but were they ever told, ei-'ther by me, or any other of his Majeſty's ſer-'vants, that it was for oppoſing the meaſures of 'the adminiſtration in Parliament? They were 'removed, becauſe his Majeſty did not think fit 'to continue them longer in his ſervice. His 'Majeſty had a right to do ſo, and I know no 'one that has a right to aſk him, What doſt thou? 'If his Majeſty had a mind, that the favours of 'the crown ſhould circulate, would not this of

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'itſelf be a good reaſon for removing any of his 'ſervants? Would not this reaſon be approved of 'by the whole nation, except thoſe who happen 'to be the preſent poſſeſſors? I cannot therefore 'ſee, how this can be imputed to me as a crime, 'or how any of the King's miniſters can be blamed 'for his doing what the publick has no concern 'in; for if the publick be well and faithfully 'ſerved, it has no buſineſs to aſk by whom.

'Upon the whole, Sir, it is a great comfort to 'me to find, that my enemies, after all their boaſt-'ing, can lay no particular crime to my door, nor 'charge me with any one tranſaction, at home or 'abroad, that has not had the approbation of 'Parliament. And whatever people may think of 'the wiſdom of the adminiſtration, for I am ſure 'I ſhall not deſire them to think well of mine, 'their conduct will ſpeak for itſelf. Our tranquil-'lity has been preſerved both abroad and at home, 'notwithſtanding a moſt unreaſonable and violent 'oppoſition to all their meaſures: The true inter-'eſt of the nation has been purſued: Our trade 'has flouriſhed: A part of our debt has been paid 'off; and the landed intereſt has been very much 'eaſed, with reſpect to that moſt unequal and 'grievous burden, the land tax. I ſay ſo, Sir, 'becauſe upon examination it will appear, that 'within theſe ſixteen or ſeventeen years, no leſs 'than 8,000,000 *l.* of our debt has been actually 'diſcharged, by the due application of the ſinking 'fund, and at leaſt 7,000,000 *l.* has been taken 'from that fund, and applied to the eaſe of the 'land tax; for if it had not been applied to the 'current ſervice, we muſt have ſupplied that ſer-'vice by increaſing the land tax; and as the ſink-'ing fund was originally deſigned for paying off 'our debts and eaſing us of our taxes, the apply-'ing it in eaſe of the land tax, was certainly as

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'proper and as neceſſary an uſe as it could be ap-
'plied to.

'But, Sir, I had almoſt forgot one fact, which 'ſeems to be a particular crime charged againſt 'me, I mean that relating to army debentures. I 'am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear any thing relating to 'this affair charged upon me: Whatever blame 'there may be in this affair, it ought to be placed 'to the account of thoſe that were in power; 'when I was, as they call it, the country gentle-'man: It was by them this affair was ſet on foot 'and conducted, and I came in only to pay off 'thoſe publick ſecurities, which their management 'had brought to a great diſcount, and conſequent-'ly to redeem our publick credit from that re-'proach which they had brought upon it. Theſe 'army debentures being at a great diſcount, was 'a ſtrong reaſon, and the reaſon that prevailed 'with the Parliament, to apply the ſinking fund 'firſt to the paying off thoſe debentures, but they 'could not apply the ſinking fund to that pur-'poſe, till it began to produce ſomething con-'ſiderable, which was not till the year 1727. 'That the ſinking fund was then to receive a 'great addition, was a fact publickly known in 'the year 1726; and if ſome people were quick-'ſighted enough to foreſee, that the Parliament 'would probably make this uſe of it, and cunning 'enough to make the moſt of their own foreſight, 'could I help it, or could they be blamed for do-'ing ſo? But I defy my moſt inveterate enemy 'to prove, that I had any hand in bringing theſe 'debentures to a diſcount, or that I had any ſhare 'in the profits made by buying them up.

'To conclude, Sir, tho' I ſhall always be 'proud of the honour of any truſt or confidence 'from his Majeſty, yet I ſhall always be ready to 'remove from his councils and preſence, when 'he thinks fit I ſhould do ſo; and therefore I

'ſhould think my ſelf very little concern'd in 'the event of the preſent queſtion, if it were 'not for the incroachment that will thereby be 'made upon the prerogatives of the crown. But 'I muſt think, that an addreſs to his Majeſty to 'remove one of his ſervants, without ſo much as 'alledging any particular crime againſt him, is 'one of the greateſt incroachments that was 'ever made upon the prerogatives of the crown; 'and therefore for the ſake of my Maſter, with-'out any regard to my own, I hope all thoſe 'that have a due regard for our conſtitution, 'and for the rights and prerogatives of the 'crown, without which our conſtitution cannot 'be preſerved, will be againſt this motion.'

But the queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the negative, by 290 *noes*, againſt 106 *yeas*.

Liſt of ſpeakers in this debate.

As we could not give all the ſpeeches made in this debate, we ſhall give the following liſt of the ſpeakers

Speakers for and againſt the Queſtion in the Houſe of Commons.

Speakers for the Queſtion.

Mr. Sandys moved
Ld. Limerick
Mr. Doddington
Wortley
Gybbon
Boone
Bootle
Ld. Gage
Mr. Littleton
Ald. Heathcote
Mr Pitt
Lee
Granville
Fazakerly
Sir John Barnard
Sir John Hind Cotton
Mr. Waller
Ord
Hume Campbell
Pulteney

Speakers

Speakers againſt the Queſtion.

Mr. Henry Pelham
How
Soll. General
Bromley
Sir William Corbett
Col. Bladen
Mr. Areſkine
Col. Pelham
Mr. Leathes
Ld. Euſton
Mr. Stephen Fox
Mr. Att. General
Winnington
Sec. at War
Clarke
Hay
Harley
Ld. Cornbury
Mr. Bowes
Southwell
Sir Robert Walpole.

We ſhall now return to the beginning of the ſeſſion, and obſerve, that upon the motion of Mr. Attorney General, ſeconded by Mr. Sollicitor General, the houſe of Commons order'd, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill for enabling his Majeſty to prohibit for a time to be limited, the exportation of corn and other proviſions out of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in *America*; and that the ſaid two gentlemen ſhould prepare and bring in the ſame. Bill for preventing the exportation of corn.

Accordingly, on the 21ſt, Mr. Attorney General preſented the bill to the houſe, which was read a firſt time, and order'd to be read a ſecond time. Whilſt this bill, (which was paſſed into a law) was depending in the houſe, the following piece was printed, and deliver'd to the members at the door of the houſe; and a part of it was printed and publiſhed in the *Daily Poſt*, *December* the 1ſt.

Conſiderations upon the embargo on proviſion of Victual.

It is to be conſider'd, whether the intereſt of contractors for proviſion for the publick, was Piece entitled, *Conſiderations upon the embargo*, &c.

not the motive which firſt ſtarted the notion of the embargo upon victual, and whether the ſame intereſt be not now a grand, tho' ſecret motive of its continuance *. Theſe contractors being very ſenſible, that the demand abroad, for *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* beef, muſt greatly enhance the price, and that there was no way for them to keep it down, but by endeavouring to confine theſe commodities to their own market, had addreſs to effect their end in part, by obtaining the embargo in *Ireland*, which they have good reaſon to labour to have continued there, and farther extended. For thus they will become abſolute maſters over a great part of the land-holders in *England*, as they have been for ſome time over above half the land-holders of *Ireland*, who are obliged to ſell at the price they pleaſe to give. The exported produce of that country, in the cattle trade, being near 600,000 *l. per Annum*, excluſive of any commodity derived from ſheep, and the whole value of the export of that kingdom, not exceeding 1,050,000*l.* which are facts extremely certain, and taken from the books of the cuſtoms there, upon a parliamentary inſpection.

It is to be conſider'd, whether any great men were induced to favour this ſcheme from any private advantages which they were to receive from the contractors, in conſideration of it; and it ought to be underſtood, that this is the faireſt

* The houſe may have a very curious and ſurprifing knowledge of this tranſaction, by ordering the proper officers to lay before them the contracts made in the year 1739 and 1740, by the victualling-office, together with the papers and applications which relate to this affair, as far it concerns the *Iriſh* proviſions, deliver'd or made to the ſaid commiſſioners for victualling, the Lords of the Admiralty, and ſome other offices.

Which, if fairly obtained, will enable the houſe to judge, whether a care and tenderneſs to two contractors, have not plainly been the ſole and true cauſe (whatever popular pretences are thrown out) of all the ſevere meaſures, with reſpect to trade, already ruinouſly executed upon *Ireland*, and now projected for the whole nation.

oppor-

opportunity for the greateſt money jobb, that may ever offer again to any man in power.

It ought to be farther conſider'd, when the bill offer'd to Parliament for regulating this affair ſhall be examin'd, whether the hopes of extraordinary and partial powers to be granted to the crown by it, might not be a principal reaſon for inſinuating the neceſſity of this meaſure, eſpecially at this conjuncture, when a new Parliament is to be ſhortly called.

It ſhould be obſerv'd, what induſtry was uſed from time to time in the publick papers, to prepare the minds of the people in favour of an embargo, particularly with reſpect to the *Iriſh* beef: And whether this does not ſeem to have proceeded rather from the ſpirit of private intereſt, than a zeal for the publick good; eſpecially as the latter end was ill anſwer'd, by alarming our enemies with the apprehenſion of an approaching prohibition, and could tend only to haſten them in making their proviſion, before they were prevented.

It is to be conſider'd, what can be the reaſons or views of a certain gentleman, in preſſing to do that by act of Parliament, which by the known conſtitution of the kingdom may be done, and has been done by an allow'd prerogative.

It is to be conſider'd, why *Ireland* is to be mentioned by the bill, ſince the prerogative has already had in that country a full effect without a bill; and whether the doing this by an *Engliſh* law, being neceſſary, will not create diſcontents there, which had better be avoided, eſpecially at this conjuncture.

It is to be conſider'd, why *Ireland*, which has the ſame *Magna Charta* and common law with *England*, ſhould be ſubjected to an embargo by prerogative, if that embargo was illegal; and if

it was not illegal, why *England* was not ſubject to it at the ſame time.

It is to be conſider'd, why that embargo upon *Ireland* was laid upon the whole trade, to the immenſe damage of that country, notwithſtanding the relaxation of it in ſome inſtances: And whether the doing it in that way, did not evidently tend to create ſervile applications, great loſs of time and opportunities, great dependence upon men in power, and poſſibly great corruption. And whether it is not an abſurdity to ſuppoſe the prerogative ſufficient to exerciſe a general embargo upon the whole trade, and inſufficient to do it upon a few branches only.

It is to be conſider'd, that the embargo in *Ireland* was laid at a conjuncture above all others fatal; the rents of that country being chiefly made during the ſlaughter ſeaſon, which is in the months of *October*, *November*, and *December*.

It is to be conſider'd, why the embargo was laid after the *French* and *Spaniſh* fleets were ſail'd; and if neceſſary at all, why not before.

It is to be conſider'd, whether it can be ſuppos'd that the provident adminiſtration of *France* and *Spain* would have hazarded the ſucceſs of ſo great a deſign, and the loſs of ſo great an armament, to an event which they knew to be ſo much in our power, as the embargo upon *Iriſh* beef. Whether therefore it could be reaſonably ſuppos'd, that this meaſure, which has been talk'd up as ſo important, could have taken any ſtrong effect.

It is to be conſider'd, whether any man can with any appearance of reaſon ſuggeſt, that this embargo could have had any better effect, than to occaſion ſome diſtreſs among the *French* and *Spaniſh* forces, to oblige them to be contented with a more ſpare and leſs agreeable diet, or to be at ſome greater expence to procure proviſion;

and

and whether any man can be ſo ſanguine to believe, that we ſhall render them *unfit for action and ſervice* by this means.

It is to be conſider'd, whether, *if they are ſtill fit for action and ſervice*, the degree of diſtreſs we ſhall create to them will be of any advantage to juſtify ſo extraordinary a meaſure; and whether, when it is rightly underſtood by the publick, they can think it ſufficient to balance the extravagant loſs it will occaſion to *Ireland* and our own colonies.

It is to be conſider'd, what this loſs will be, whether it will not occaſion a total ſtagnation of trade in ſome of our colonies: Whether proviſions exported from *Ireland*, are not annually worth 600,000*l.* and whether it be poſſible that any remedy can be apply'd to the diſtreſs of that nation, occaſioned by this embargo, when half the beef they export is of ſo bad a kind, that no people can conſume it but the *French*; and conſequently that if *England* were ever ſo willing to relieve *Ireland*, ſhe cannot buy that product.

It is to be conſider'd, how unequally this blow muſt fall, and that this loſs will lie in a manner wholly upon one fourth part of *Ireland*, above three fourths of the exported beef, *&c.* ariſing from the province of *Munſter* only.

It is to be conſider'd, what a deplorable ruin muſt attend the fourth part of any country, by a certain annual loſs of at leaſt 300,000*l.* where the rents of that whole country amount but to 1,700,000*l.*

It is to be conſider'd, whoſe loſs this in the end will be; and whether it will not be the loſs of *England:* Since it is demonſtrable that *England* gets all the balance of the trade of *Ireland*, as appears from hence, that the current ſpecies of *Ireland* is certainly not augmented for twenty

years paſt, tho' the balance of trade is known to be more than 400,000*l. per Ann.* in her favour.

It is to be conſider'd, whether the growth of wool, and the woollen manufactures of *Ireland*, if they are ſo prejudicial to the woollen trade of *England*, as ſome would popularly ſuggeſt, will not be enlarged to the prejudice of *England*, by driving the *Iriſh* out of a trade, which now employs ſo great a portion of their land.

It is to be conſider'd, what was the practice of this nation in all our former wars, and upon what motives it was, that in the reign of *Charles* II. in 1667, when *England* was at war with *Holland*, *France*, and *Denmark*, at a period when the prejudices againſt *Ireland* firſt had riſe, and were moſt violent; it was reſolv'd by the council of *England*, that the *Iriſh* ſhould export their beef and proviſions to the enemy, in purſuance of which reſolution a proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom was then iſſued to that purpoſe.

It is to be conſider'd likewiſe, upon what motives, in the wars of King *William* and Queen *Anne* with *France*, the ſame indulgence was ſhewn to *Ireland*, and their exportation privately encouraged by the government of *England*, notwithſtanding any general embargoes laid by act of Parliament.

It is to be conſider'd, whether the *Dutch*, the wiſeſt nation in the world with reſpect to commerce, ever thought it adviſeable to refuſe to ſupply their enemies with any commodity whatſoever.

It is to be conſider'd, now the ſcarcity of graſs and hay is ſo exceſſive, what can be done with our cattle, if they are not exported; and whether it be better that they ſhould periſh at home, than be ſold to our enemies.

It is to be conſider'd, whether money be not the ſinew of war; and whether to deny ourſelves the profit of a very advantageous trade, be a natural way to prove ſucceſsful againſt our enemies.

It is to be conſider'd, whether one of the calamities of war is not the interruption of our commerce.

Whether to render this greater than it muſt neceſſarily be, can deſerve the encomiums which a certain perſon and his adherents beſtow upon this meaſure.

Whether one of the moſt valuable circumſtances of Admiral *Vernon*'s glorious demoliſhing of *Porto Bello* has not been thought, by all knowing men, to be the opening of that coaſt to our merchants, and the means thereby given to ſupply the *Spaniſh America* with commodities of this country.

Whether there is any maxim ſo ſolid, and ſo incapable of being controverted with reſpect to trade, as that it ought never to be reſtrained.

Whether the eternal conſequence of reſtriction in commerce has not been the diverſion of it into a new channel

Whether the reſtraint upon the exportation of iron, laid by *Sweden* ſome years ago, has been recover'd by *Sweden*, and whether *Spain* was not an immenſe gainer by it.

Whether the reſtraint upon the *Iriſh* trade in cattle, impoſed by *England*, did not throw the beef trade into *Ireland*, and give it to that very country, which was imprudently deſign'd to be excluded from it.

Whether the prohibition of the *Iriſh* to carry on the woollen manufacture, did not throw the woollen trade as well out of their hands as ours, and eſtabliſh the ſame in all parts of *Europe*.

Whether

Whether any folly be more exploded, if fatal and general experience can explode a folly, than the ſuppoſition, that any nation can exclude the reſt of the world from any branch of commerce.

Whether it can be ſuppoſed that Providence has been ſo ſevere upon any country, as to put it in the power of another to ſtarve her inhabitants.

It is to be conſider'd, whether it is poſſible to conceive, that any nation abounding in wealth, can fail to be ſupplied with neceſſaries for money.

It is to be conſider'd, whether *Denmark*, *Jutland*, *Holſtein*, and other places in the *Baltick*, which now export great quantities of live cattle, may not ſalt their beef, and ſupply *France* and *Spain* with it; and whether they will not keep that trade when they have once experienc'd the advantage of it.

It is to be conſider'd, whether *Hungary*, *Flanders*, and *France* itſelf, may not, upon encouragement, ſupply a part.

It is to be conſider'd, whether the foreſts of *France* and *Germany* may not ſupply great quantities of pork; and whether that proviſion will not anſwer the end of beef.

It is to be conſider'd, whether *Holland* may not ſupply vaſt quantities, particularly of pork, from *Germany*, by means of the navigable rivers which flow from thence thro' that country.

It is to be conſider'd, what effect the lucre of this branch of trade may have upon the councils of thoſe nations which may gain it from us; and whether *France* may not acquire a dangerous influence over ſome of our beſt allies by that event.

It is to be conſider'd, nay it is to be known, that there is a method of ſalting and curing cattle in the very hotteſt latitudes, and under the line itſelf, tho' the ſecret is as yet in few hands; and whether neceſſity and money will not open that ſecret to *France* and *Spain*.

It is to conſider'd, whether in all ſuch caſes, many places for ſupply and means of it may not be found, which no preſent foreſight can ſuggeſt.

Whether a very hard ſeaſon, and a dearth of grain abroad, is not by all thinking men apprehended as a fatal incident to *England*, tho' ſhe is not herſelf a preſent ſufferer by it, and may be an immediate gainer by the exportation of greater quantities of corn; ſince the alarm it gives to foreign nations, tends to put them upon meaſures for enlarging their tillage, and finding means to ſupply themſelves at home with grain, which *France* has lately done, by founding a company, and giving great advantages and premiums, for raiſing rice in that country.

Whether therefore it may be thought adviſeable to urge this diſtreſs in any kind; and whether it is not adding an incentive to their endeavours in this way.

Whether from this juſt conſideration, all embargoes, or other difficulties upon exportation, are not in the nature of the thing injurious and abſurd.

Whether it is beneath a man of ſenſe, upon better conſideration, to reject opinions, however warmly he may have eſpouſed them, before the ſtate of the queſtion had been throughly canvaſſed.

Whether therefore there may not be great hope, that the act relating to the embargo will never paſs.

And

And if it ſhould paſs, 1. That it may relate to corn only, a reſtraint upon which ſeems to be juſtified for the preſent by no other reaſon but the great want of it at home, which our late ill ſeaſons threaten.

2. That it ſhould not extend either to *Ireland*, or the Plantations, who will be infallibly diſtreſs'd beyond example, and almoſt to our utter ruin by it.

3. That if it muſt paſs, it ſhould be general as to every diſtinct ſpecies, to avoid partiality, and increaſe of miniſterial power.

4. That it ſhould be in the power of the crown to relieve it in any one branch of exportation, provided the relief or the reſtraint be general as to the particular branch; becauſe it may be neceſſary to prevent the exportation of corn, and at the ſame time fatal to hinder that of other proviſions.

5. That care be taken to allow the export of corn to *Ireland*, either from the Plantations or *England*; without which *Ireland*, who does not grow corn enough for her home conſumption, and is now in great diſtreſs from the loſs of potatoes by the froſt, may greatly ſuffer by famine, eſpecially if this winter ſhould be attended with much ſevere weather.

Upon the whole, it is to be hoped, that men in power, if they ſhould be convinced by theſe conſiderations, that they have not deſerved the applauſe which has been raſhly given to this meaſure, and that it is really deſtructive and dangerous, will be generous enough to reſign their pretenſions to this glory, rather than ſacrifice the trade and intereſt of theſe dominions, by maintaining their firſt opinion.

P.S. It is actually now known, that the *French* have contracted already for an annual ſupply of

of 6000 tons, or 60,000 barrels of beef from *Jutland*, at the rate of 200 wt. *per* barrel, which is within 20,000 barrels of the greateſt quantity ever taken by them from *Ireland* in times of peace. So that in all probability an irrecoverable blow is already given to that branch of trade; and they have actually contracted with *Holland* for a farther quantity.

Certain advices are received, that the *French* fleets are actually in *America*; which may ſerve ſufficiently to evince, that ſome perſons have boaſted too much of their ſagacity in impoſing the embargo: The great, and indeed only plauſible pretence for it, being to prevent their navigation thither at this critical conjuncture, which it was confidently affirmed it would effect.

This was foretold at a time when the prejudices in favour of the embargo were too ſtrong to admit credit to that ſuggeſtion. It is to be wiſhed, that the farther prophecy contained in this paper may not likewiſe be moſt fatally accompliſhed.

Next day, *December* 2d, *Edward Thompſon*, Eſq; ſtood up and complained to the houſe, that a printed paper, intitled, *Conſiderations upon the embargo on proviſion of victual*, was yeſterday delivered to the members of that houſe, at the door thereof, and that part of the matter contained in the ſaid printed paper was alſo yeſterday publiſhed in a daily paper, printed by *J. Meres* in the *Old Bailey* near *Ludgate*, intitled, *The Daily Poſt*, and dated *Monday*, *December* 1, 1740. The ſaid piece complain'd of in the houſe of Commons.

Upon this the ſaid papers were brought up and read; and an article of news in the ſaid *Daily Poſt* was alſo read, containing a copy of his Majeſty's order in council, for laying an embargo upon all ſhips in the ports of *Great Britain*, laden or to be laden with corn, *&c.* or any other proviſions of

victuals, to be exported to foreign parts; after which Mr. *Thompſon* ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

'Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Thompſon*'s ſpeech. 'Sir, The crime of exaſperating the people againſt their governors, of raiſing diſcontent, and exciting murmurs in a time of general danger, and of attempting to repreſent wiſe and ſalutary meaſures, which have received the approbation of the whole legiſlature, as mean artifices, contrived only to raiſe the fortunes of ſome favourites of the miniſter, and aggrandize the officers of ſtate by the miſeries of the people, is a crime too enormous to require or admit any aggravation from rhetorick, and too dangerous to hope for any excuſe from candour and lenity.

'To read or hear this paper is ſufficient for a full conviction of its pernicious tendency, and of the malice of its author; a charge not fixed upon particular expreſſions capable of a doubtful meaning, and which heat or inadvertency might caſually have produced, but ſupported by the general deſign of the whole paper, and the continued tenor of the argument, which is evidently intended to ſhew, that an act of government, which cannot but appear neceſſary and ſeaſonable in the preſent ſtate of our affairs, an act ratified by the concurrence of all the powers of the legiſlature, is nothing but a ſcheme of avarice to grow rich by oppreſſion.

'Nor is this ſcandalous libel written with more confidence and inſolence than it is diſperſed. Not content, Sir, with vilifying the proceedings of Parliament, the author has induſtriouſly publiſhed his calumny at our door; the time has been when defamation ſkulked in ſecret, and calumnies againſt the government were diſperſed by whiſpers or private communication; but this

'writer

'writer adds inſults to his injuries, and at once 'reproaches and defies us.

'I beg leave to move, therefore, That the houſe 'do cenſure this paper as "a malicious and ſcan-"dalous libel, highly and injuriouſly reflecting "upon a juſt and wiſe act of his Majeſty's go-"vernment, and alſo upon the proceedings of "both houſes of Parliament; and tending to cre-"ate jealouſies in the minds of the people." I 'alſo move, "that the author may be ordered to "attend, to be examined at our bar."

This was unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe. The door-keeper was called in, and being ſhewn the paper, was aſked from whom he received it? Who anſwered, that he believed the perſon, who delivered it to him, was then detained in one of the committee rooms, upon which he was ordered to look for, and fetch him to the bar.

Samuel Sandys, Eſq; taking notice, that the perſon was already in cuſtody, ſaid, 'That he ſhould 'be glad to know by what authority. It was not 'reaſonable to puniſh firſt, and judge afterwards.'

Upon which Sir *William Yonge* reply'd, 'That 'he had cauſed him to be detained, in order to 'know the pleaſure of the houſe; and that he 'thought it his duty to ſecure ſo enormous an 'offender from eſcaping.'

Soon after the door-keeper brought the man in, when he declared, upon examination, that his name was *William Cooley*, and his profeſſion that of a ſcrivener, and owned, with great openneſs, that he was the author of the paper. He was then aſked, who was the printer, and anſwered, that he printed it himſelf. Which he explained afterwards, by ſaying, that as he had carried it to the printer's, he might be ſaid, in the general acceptation of the term, as applied to an author, to be the printer; he then diſcover'd the

printer, and was aſked, where was the original manuſcript, which he ſaid he had deſtroy'd, as he did any other uſeleſs paper.

It having been obſerved by ſome of the members, that it was printed in one of the daily papers, he was aſked, who carried it thither? and anſwered, that he carried it himſelf. It was then demanded, what he gave for having it inſerted? and he anſwered, that he gave nothing.

After many queſtions, *Henry Archer*, Eſq; deſired that he might be aſked, Whether on the *Friday* before he was in the gallery? At which ſome of the members expreſſed their diſapprobation, and the man being ordered to withdraw, the following debate enſued upon the propriety of the queſtion.

Samuel Sandys, Eſq; ſpoke firſt in ſubſtance as follows.

Mr. *Sandys*'s ſpeech.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Thoſe who are entruſted by their country 'with the authority of making laws, ought undoubtedly to obſerve them with the utmoſt circumſpection, leſt they ſhould defeat their own endeavours, and invalidate by their example their own decrees.

'There is no part, Sir, of our civil conſtitution 'more ſacred, none that has been more revered 'by thoſe that have trampled upon other forms 'of juſtice, and wanton'd in oppreſſion without 'reſtraint, than that privilege by which every '*Engliſhman* is exempted from the neceſſity of 'accuſing himſelf, and by which he is intitled to 'refuſe an anſwer to any queſtion which may be 'aſked, with a view to draw from him a confeſſion of an offence, which cannot be proved.

'Whether this great privilege, Sir, is not violated; whether the unalienable right of a free 'ſubject is not infringed, by the queſtion put to

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'the perſon at our bar, the houſe muſt decide. 'The puniſhment to which intruders are ſubject 'by the orders of this houſe, proves that his pre- 'ſence in the houſe is conſidered as a crime, of 'which, as we have no proof of it, a confeſſion 'ought not to be extorted by an artful and inſidi- 'ous queſtion, of which he may not diſcover the 'intention, or the conſequence. Such treatment, 'Sir, is rather to be expected by ſlaves in the in- 'quiſition of *Spain*, than an *Engliſhman* at the bar 'of this houſe; a houſe inſtituted to preſerve li- 'berty, and to reſtrain injuſtice and oppreſſion.'

Alex. Hume Campbell, Eſq; ſpoke next to this effect.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, I cannot but concur with the opinion of 'the honourable gentleman, that in requiring an 'anſwer to this queſtion we ſhall expoſe a man to 'a puniſhment, againſt whom we have no evidence 'but what is extorted from himſelf; and conſe- 'quently no knowledge of his crime, upon which 'we can proceed to inflict cenſures or penalties, 'without the manifeſt infraction of our conſtitu- 'tion. Mr. *Campbell's* ſpeech.

'It cannot be imagined, Sir, that he intends to 'confeſs himſelf guilty of a crime of which no 'proof has been brought, or that he will voluntā- 'rily ſubject himſelf to puniſhments. It muſt, 'therefore, follow that he is intrapped in his exa- 'mination by an artifice, which, I hope, will ne- 'ver find any countenance in this houſe.'

Thomas Winnington, Eſq; anſwered to the following purpoſe.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, It is not impoſſible that the honourable 'gentlemen having not lately look'd into the or- 'ders of the houſe, may miſtake the tendency of Mr. *Winnington's* ſpeech.

'the queſtion, I therefore move, that the order 'may be read.'

The order being read by the clerk, he proceeded.

'It is evident, Sir, that by the order now read, 'the ſerjeant at arms, attending on this houſe, 'may take into cuſtody all ſtrangers that ſhall be 'found in the houſe or gallery while we are aſ-'ſembled; and that this order is not always put 'in practice, muſt be attributed to the lenity of 'the houſe. But that this order extends to paſt 'offences, and ſubjects any man to impriſonment 'for having been preſent in ſome former day, 'cannot be conceived. For how far may ſuch a 'retroſpect be extended? Or, at what time after 'having intruded into the houſe, can any man 'preſume to conſider himſelf as exempt from the 'danger of impriſonment?

'Our order, Sir, only decrees preſent puniſh-'ment for preſent offences, and therefore, the 'queſtion aſked by the honourable gentleman may 'be inſiſted on without ſcruple, and anſwered 'without hazard. Let then the honourable gen-'tlemen reſerve their laudable zeal for our conſti-'tution till it ſhall be invaded by more important 'occaſions.'

Samuel Sandys, Eſq; replied as follows.

'Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Sandys's* reply. 'Sir, What victory the honourable gentleman 'imagines himſelf to have gained, or whence 'proceeds all his wantonneſs of exultation, I am 'not able to diſcover. The queſtion only relates 'to the interpretation of one of our own orders, 'and is therefore not of the higheſt importance; 'nor can his ſucceſs in ſo trivial a debate entitle 'him to great applauſe from others, or produce

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'in a perſon of his abilities, any uncommon ſatis-
'faction to himſelf.

'But whatever may be the pleaſure of the vic-
'tory, it muſt at leaſt be gained before it can be
'celebrated; and it is by no means evident that
'he has yet any reaſon to aſſure himſelf of con-
'queſt.

'His interpretation, Sir, of the order, which
'he has ſo confidently laid before the houſe, ſeems
'to me to have no foundation in reaſon or juſtice;
'for if it be an offence againſt the houſe to be
'preſent at our conſultations, and that offence be
'juſtly puniſhable, why ſhould any man be ex-
'empt from a juſt cenſure by an accidental eſcape?
'Or what makes the difference between this crime
'and any other, that this alone muſt be immedi-
'ately puniſhed, or immediately obliterated; and
'that a lucky flight is equivalent to innocence?

'It is ſurely, Sir, more rational to believe, that
'the houſe may puniſh any breach of its orders at
'a diſtant time, that if our cenſure is once eluded,
'it may be afterwards enforced; and, therefore,
'that the queſtion put to the perſon at the bar
'ought not to be aſked, becauſe it cannot ſafely
'be anſwered.'

William Pulteney, Eſq; ſpoke next in words to this effect.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, I cannot but conceive that our order may extend its influence beyond the preſent moment, and that intruſions may be puniſhed by the houſe on another day than that on which they were committed. Mr. *Pulteney*'s ſpeech.

'I am ſo far, Sir, from being of opinion, that
'to make the execution of this order valid, the
'houſe muſt ſit without interruption from the
'time of the offence to that of the puniſhment,

'that if the gentlemen in the gallery were to be 'taken into cuſtody, I ſhould adviſe the ſerjeant 'to wait till the houſe ſhould break up, and ſeize 'them as they ſhould come out.'

Sir *William Yonge* ſpoke next in the manner following.

Sir *William Yonge*'s ſpeech.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, If any ſuch puniſhment were now intend- 'ed, I ſhould adviſe the gentlemen in the gallery 'to retire, indeed, but not to hide themſelves like 'felons, or men proſcribed by proclamation; for 'as the power of ſeizing any man in the houſe is 'ſufficient to ſecure us from intruſion, there is no 'reaſon to extend it farther; and penalties are not 'without reaſon to be inflicted, neither has the 'houſe ever coveted the power of oppreſſing; 'and what elſe is unneceſſary puniſhment?

'If, therefore, an intruder is not ſeized in the 'act of intruſion, he cannot legally be impriſoned 'for it. And any of the ſtrangers who now hear 'this debate may retire to a very ſmall diſtance 'from the houſe, and ſet the ſerjeant of arms at 'defiance.'

Sir *Robert Walpole* then ſpoke to this effect.

Sir *Robert Walpole*'s ſpeech.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Whether the queſtion be proper or not, 'it ſeems very unneceſſary to debate; becauſe, 'however it be anſwered, it cannot be of great 'importance; the man has already confeſs'd him- 'ſelf the author of the libel, and may, therefore, 'be puniſh'd without farther examination.

'That he is the real author, Sir, I am not in- 'deed convinced by his aſſertion, with whatever 'confidence it was made; for ſo far as his appear- 'ance enables me to judge of his education and

'ſphere

'ſphere of life, it is not probable that he ſhould 'be much verſed in political enquiries, or that he 'ſhould engage in the diſcuſſion of queſtions like 'this.

'There appears, Sir, in the paper before us, a 'more extenſive knowledge of facts, a more ac-'curate attention to commerce, more artful reaſon-'ing, and a more elevated ſtile, than it is reaſon-'able to expect from this man, whom, without 'pretending to determine the limits of his capacity, 'or the compaſs of his knowledge, I am, for my 'part, inclin'd to look upon as an agent to ſome 'other perſon of higher ſtation, and greater ac-'compliſhments.

'It is not uncommon, Sir, for gentlemen to 'exerciſe their abilities and employ their pens up-'on political queſtions, and when they have pro-'duced any thing, which their complaiſance for 'themſelves equally hinders them from owning 'and ſuppreſſing, they are known to procure ſome 'perſon of inferior rank to take upon him in pub-'lick the character of the author, and to ſtand the 'danger of the proſecution, contenting themſelves 'with the applauſe and admiration of their choſen 'friends, whom they truſt with the important ſe-'cret, and with whom they ſit and laugh at the 'conjectures of the publick, and the ignorance of 'the miniſtry.

'This, Sir, is a frequent practice, not only 'with thoſe who have no other employment, but 'as I have ſufficient reaſons to believe, among 'ſome gentlemen, who have ſeats in this houſe, 'gentlemen whoſe abilities and knowledge qua-'lify them to ſerve the publick in characters 'much ſuperior to that of lampooners of the 'government.'

William Pulteney, Eſq; anſwered in terms to the following purpoſe.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Whether the man who confeſſed himſelf 'the author of the paper has accuſed himſelf of 'what he did not commit, or has ingenuouſly and 'openly diſcover'd the truth, it is beyond my 'penetration abſolutely to decide; the frankneſs 'and unconcern with which he made the decla-'ration, give it at leaſt the appearance of truth, 'nor do I diſcover any reaſon for doubting his 'ſincerity. Is there any improbability in the 'nature of the fact, that ſhould incline us to ſuſ-'pect his veracity? Is there any apparent ad-'vantage to be gained by aſſuming a falſe cha-'racter? Neither of thoſe circumſtances can be 'produced againſt him, and an aſſertion is to 'be admitted for its own ſake, when there is no-'thing to invalidate it.

'But the honourable gentleman, Sir, appears 'to have a very particular reaſon for his doubts; 'a reaſon, which will, I hope, have no weight 'with any but himſelf. By denying the paper 'to this man, he gives room for conjecture and 'ſuſpicion to range far and wide, and wanton 'with whatever characters he ſhall think proper 'ſubjects for his amuſement. An author is now 'to be ſought, and many diverting arguments 'may be brought by the dulleſt enquirer for 'fixing it upon one man, or denying it to ano-'ther.

'The honourable gentleman, Sir, has given 'us a bold ſpecimen of this kind of wit, by inſi-'nuating that it is the production of ſome one 'of the members of this houſe; a conjecture of 'which I am not able to find the foundation, 'and therefore imagine, that raillery rather 'than argument was intended. But let the ho-'nourable gentleman recollect, that the chief 'excellence of raillery is politeneſs, to which he 'has ſurely paid little regard, in ſuppoſing that

'what

'what has been unanimouſly condemn'd as a 'libel, has one of thoſe who cenſured it for its 'author.

'If I am particularly hinted at in this ſaga-'cious conjecture, I take this opportunity of 'declaring that I am equally ignorant of the 'whole affair with any other gentleman in this 'houſe; that I never ſaw the paper, till it was 'deliver'd to me at the door, nor the author till 'he appeared at the bar. Having thus cleared 'myſelf, Sir, from this aſperſion, I declare it as 'my opinion, that every gentleman in the houſe 'can ſafely purge himſelf in the ſame manner; 'for I cannot conceive, that any of them can 'have written a libel like this. There are, in-'deed, ſome paſſages which would not diſgrace 'the greateſt abilities, and ſome maxims true in 'themſelves, tho' perhaps fallaciouſly applied, 'and at leaſt ſuch an appearance of reaſoning 'and knowledge, as ſets the writer far above the 'level of the contemptible ſcribblers of the mi-'niſterial vindications: A herd of wretches 'whom neither information can enlighten, nor 'affluence elevate; low drudges of ſcurrility, 'whoſe ſcandal is harmleſs for want of wit, and 'whoſe oppoſition is only troubleſome from the 'pertinaciouſneſs of ſtupidity.

'Why ſuch immenſe ſums are diſtributed 'amongſt theſe reptiles, it is ſcarce poſſible not 'to enquire; for it cannot be imagin'd that 'thoſe who pay them, expect any ſupport from 'their abilities. If their patrons would read 'their writings, their ſalaries would quickly be 'withdrawn; for a few pages would convince 'them, that they can neither attack nor defend, 'neither raiſe any man's reputation by their pa-'negyric, nor deſtroy it by their defamation.'

Sir *Robert Walpole* then ſpoke in the following manner:

Sir *Robert Walpole's* reply.

'I hope it is not expected, Sir, that the heat with 'which one claſs of our political writers have 'been attacked by the honourable gentleman, 'ſhould engage me to undertake their defence 'with the ſame earneſtneſs. I have neither in-'tereſt enough in the queſtion to awaken my 'paſſions, nor curioſity or leiſure ſufficient for 'ſuch an examination of the writings on each 'ſide, as is neceſſary, before the ſuperiority of 'any author above his brethren can be juſtly aſ-'ſerted.

'It is no part, Sir, of my employment or 'amuſement to compare their arguments, or to 'balance their abilities; nor do I often read the 'papers of either party, except when I am in-'form'd by ſome that have more inclination to 'ſuch ſtudies than myſelf, that they have riſen 'by ſome accident above their common level.

'Yet that I may not appear intirely to deſert 'the queſtion, I cannot forbear to ſay, that I 'have never from theſe accidental inſpections of 'their performances diſcover'd any reaſon to ex-'alt the authors who write againſt the admini-'ſtration, to a higher degree of reputation than 'their opponents. That any of them deſerve 'loud applauſes, I cannot aſſert, and am afraid 'that all, which deſerves to be preſerv'd of the 'writings on either ſide, may be contracted to a 'very few volumes.

'The writers for the oppoſition appear to me 'to be nothing more than the echoes of their 'predeceſſors, or what is ſtill more deſpicable, 'of themſelves, and to have produced nothing 'in the laſt ſeven years, which had not been ſaid 'ſeven years before.

'I may, perhaps, be thought by ſome gentlemen of each claſs, to ſpeak contemptuouſly of their advocates, nor ſhall I think my own opinion leſs juſt for ſuch a cenſure; for the reputation of controverſial writers ariſes generally, from the prepoſſeſſion of their readers in favour of the opinions which they endeavour to defend. Men eaſily admit the force of an argument which tends to ſupport notions, that it is their intereſt to diffuſe, and readily find wit and ſpirit in a ſatire pointed at characters which they deſire to depreſs. But to the oppoſite party, and even to themſelves, when their paſſions have ſubſided, and their intereſt is diſunited from the queſtion, thoſe arguments appear only loud aſſertions, or empty ſophiſtry; and that wit which was clamorouſly praiſed, diſcovers itſelf to be only impudence or low conceits; the ſpirit evaporates, and the malignity only remains.

'If we conſider, Sir, what oppoſition of character is neceſſary to conſtitute a political writer, it will not be wonder'd, that ſo few excel in that undertaking. He that will write well in politicks, muſt at the ſame time have a complete knowledge of the queſtion, and time to digeſt his thoughts into method, and poliſh his ſtile into elegance; which is little leſs than to ſay, He muſt be at once a man of buſineſs, and a man of leiſure; for political tranſactions are not eaſily underſtood, but by thoſe who are engaged in them; and the art of writing is not attainable without long practice, and ſedentary application.

'Thus it happens that political writings are generally defective. For they are drawn up by men unacquainted with publick buſineſs, and who can therefore only amuſe their readers with fallacious recitals, ſpecious ſophiſtries,

'ſtries, or an agreeable ſtile; or they are the 'haſty productions of buſy negotiators, who, 'tho' they cannot but excel the other claſs of 'writers in that which is of moſt importance, 'the knowledge of their ſubject, are yet rarely 'at leiſure to diſplay that knowledge to advan-'tage, or add grace to ſolidity.

'Writers of the latter ſort appear but ſel-'dom, and moſt of our political papers are 'the amuſements of leiſure, or the expedients of 'want.

'Whether the paper now before us, is the 'produce of eaſe, or of neceſſity, I ſhall not de-'termine; I have already offer'd my opinion, 'that the man who claims it, is not the author, 'nor do I diſcover any reaſon for changing my 'ſentiment: The queſtion is a queſtion merely 'of conjecture, ſince neither I, nor the honou-'rable gentleman attempt to offer any demon-'ſtrative proofs of our opinion. If he has any 'to produce in favour of his own notions, let him 'lay them before you, but let him always for-'bear to impute to me aſſertions which I never 'utter'd, and beware of repreſenting me as de-'claring that I believe this paper the compoſi-'tion of ſome member of this houſe.'

It was then debated, whether this offence ſhould be puniſhed by the authority of the houſe, or re-ferred to the cognizance of ſome of the courts of judicature in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; on which occa-ſion *John Howe*, Eſq; ſpoke as follows:

Mr. *Howe's* ſpeech.

'Sir, It is the duty of every part of the legiſ-'lature, not only to preſerve the whole ſyſtem of 'our government unalter'd and unimpair'd, but 'to attend particularly to the ſupport of their 'own privileges, privileges not confer'd upon 'them by our anceſtors, but for wiſe purpoſes.

'It is the privilege of this houſe, that we, 'and we only are the judges of our own rights, 'and we only, therefore, can aſſign the proper 'puniſhment when they ſhall be preſumptuouſly 'invaded.

'If we remit this offender, who has at- 'tempted to debaſe the houſe in the opinion of 'the nation, to any inferior court, we allow that 'court to determine by the puniſhment that ſhall 'be inflicted, the importance of this aſſembly, 'and the value of the collective character of this 'houſe.

'It therefore concerns us, in regard to our own 'dignity, and to the privileges of our ſucceſſors, 'that we retain the cognizance of this crime in 'our own hands, in which it is placed by per- 'petual preſcription and the nature of our con- 'ſtitution.'

The houſe agreed to this, and the libeller was ſent to *Newgate* by warrant from the Speaker.

Sir *William Yonge* then ſpoke to this effect.

'Sir, I am pleaſed with finding that the ma- 'lice and indecency of this libel has raiſed in the 'houſe a juſt reſentment, and that the wretch, 'who with a confidence ſo ſteady, and ſuch ap- 'pearance of ſatisfaction in his countenance, con- 'feſſes, or rather proclaims himſelf the author, 'is treated as he deſerves. But let us not for- 'get that the ſame degree of guilt always requires 'the ſame puniſhment, and that, when the author 'of ſcandal is in priſon, the printer and propa- 'gator of it ought not to be at liberty. Sir *William Yonge*'s ſpeech.

'The printer of the daily news is ſurely the 'proper object of your indignation, who inſert- 'ed this libel in his paper, without the fondneſs 'of an author, and without the temptation of a

'bribe;

'bribe; a bride, by the help of which it is 'uſual to circulate ſcurrility. To this man the 'expence or labour of aſperſing the govern-'ment was recompenced by the pleaſure, and 'he could not prevail with himſelf to omit 'any opportunity of incenſing the people, and 'expoſing at once the whole legiſlature to cen-'ſure and contempt.

'Thoſe, therefore, that have concurred in the 'impriſonment of the author, will doubtleſs join 'with me in requiring the attendance of his 'officious accomplice, and I cannot forbear ex-'preſſing my hope, that he will not meet with 'kinder treatment.

'It is far from being the firſt offence of his 'licentious preſs; and the lenity of the govern-'ment, by which he has been ſo long ſpared, 'has had no other effect upon him, than to add 'confidence to his malice, and incite him to ad-'vance from one degeee of impudence to ano-'ther.

'He has for ſeveral weeks perſiſted in miſ-'repreſenting the intention of the embargo, 'by letters pretended to be written by friends of 'the government, who are injured by it. He has 'vented his inſinuations hitherto, as with im-'punity, ſo, as it appears, without fear. It is 'time, therefore, to diſturb his ſecurity, and re-'ſtrain him from adding one calumny to another.'

Sir *John Barnard* roſe up hereupon, and oppoſed this motion in terms to the following effect.

Sir *John Barnard*'s ſpeech.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, The end of puniſhment is to prevent a 'repetition of the ſame crime both in the offender, 'and in thoſe who may have the ſame inclinations, 'and when that end is accompliſhed, all farther

'ſeverities

'ſeverities have an appearance rather of cruelty 'than juſtice.

'By puniſhing the author of this libel, we 'have, in my opinion, ſufficiently ſecured our 'dignity from any future attacks, we have cruſh- 'ed the head of the confederacy, and prevented 'the ſubordinate agents from exerting their malice. 'Printers can do no injury without authors; and 'if no man ſhall dare to write a libel, it is not 'worthy of our inquiry how many may be incli- 'ned to publiſh it.

'But if the printer muſt neceſſarily be puniſhed 'before the reſentment of the houſe can be ſatis- 'fied; if it ſhall not be thought ſufficient to pu- 'niſh him without whoſe aſſiſtance the other could 'not have offended; let us, at leaſt, confine our 'animadverſion to the preſent fault, without tra- 'cing back his life for paſt miſdemeanors, and 'charging him with accumulated wickedneſs; for 'if a man's whole life is to be the ſubject of judi- 'cial enquiries, when he ſhall appear at the bar of 'this houſe, the moſt innocent will have reaſon to 'tremble when they approach it.

'Even with regard, Sir, to the offence of 'which he is now accuſed, ſomewhat may, per- 'haps, be ſaid in extenuation of his guilt, which 'I do not offer, to gratify any perſonal affection 'or regard for him, to whom I am equally a 'ſtranger with any other gentleman in this houſe, 'but to prevent a puniſhment which may be here- 'after thought diſproportioned to the crime.

'It is, Sir, to be remembered, that he was not 'the original printer of the libel, which he only 'reprinted from a paper, of which he knew that 'it was to be diſperſed at our door, and in which 'he could not naturally ſuſpect any ſeditious or 'dangerous aſſertions to be contained. It is, 'therefore, probable that he fell into the offence 'by ignorance, or, at worſt, by inadvertency;

'and,

'and, as his intention was not criminal, he may 'properly be ſpared.'

Thomas Winnington, Eſq; ſpoke in anſwer to this effect.

Mr. *Winnington's ſpeech.*

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, I cannot but think the honourable gentle- 'man betrayed by his zeal for the defence of this 'man, into ſome aſſertions not to be ſupported by 'law or reaſon. If it be innocent to print a paper 'once printed, will it not inevitably follow, that 'the moſt flagitious falſhoods, and the moſt enor- 'mous inſults on the crown itſelf, the moſt ſedi- 'tious invectives, and moſt dangerous poſitions, 'may be diſperſed through the whole kingdom, 'without any danger but to the original printer? 'And what reaſon, Sir, can be aſſigned, why 'that which is criminal in one man, ſhould be in- 'nocent in another?

'Nor is this the only poſition which has been 'advanced contrary to the laws of our country; 'for it has been aſſerted, that the general character 'of an offender is a conſideration foreign from 'that of his immediate crime; and that whatever 'any man's paſt life has been, he is only to be 'judged according to the evidence for the offence, 'which is then the ſubject of examination.

'How much this opinion is conſiſtent with the 'practice of our courts, a very ſlight knowledge 'of their methods of proceeding, will readily diſ- 'cover. Is any villain there convicted but by the 'influence of his character? And is not the chief 'queſtion at a trial, the paſt conduct of the perſon 'at the bar?'

Sir *John Barnard* roſe here and ſpoke thus.

'Mr.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, I riſe up only to anſwer a queſtion, which 'is, whether properly or not, put to me, and hope 'the irregularity will not be imputed to me by 'the houſe, but to the occaſion which produces 'it. Sir *John Barnard's* reply.

'I am aſked, whether it is not the chief queſ-'tion at the bar of our courts of juſtice, What is 'the character of the priſoner? And cannot but 'feel ſome amazement that any man ſhould be ſo 'ignorant of common proceedings, and ſo much 'unacquainted with the execution of our laws, as 'to have admitted a notion ſo chimerical.

'The character of the priſoner is never exami-'ned, except when it is pleaded by himſelf, and 'witneſſes are produced to offer teſtimony in his 'favour; that plea, like all others, is then to be 'examined, and is ſometimes confuted by contra-'ry evidence. But the character of a criminal, 'though it may be urged by himſelf as a proof of 'his innocence, is never to be mentioned by his 'proſecutor as an aggravation or proof of his 'guilt. It is not required by the law, that the 'general character of a criminal, but that the par-'ticular evidence of the crime with which he 'ſtands charged, ſhould be examined; nor is his 'character ever mentioned but by his own choice.'

Sir *William Yonge* ſpoke next to the effect following.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, To prove the malignity of the intention 'with which this libel was inſerted in the daily 'paper, it cannot be improper to obſerve, that 'the embargo has been for many days paſt, the 'favourite topic of this printer, and that, there-'fore, it was not by accident that he admitted ſo Sir *William Yonge's* ſpeech.

'zealous

'zealous an advocate for his opinions to be ſeaſonably aſſiſted by the circulation of his paper, but 'that he doubtleſs was delighted with an opportunity of diſperſing ſedition by means of greater 'abilities than his own.

'Nor can it be juſtly pleaded, Sir, in his favour, that he was encouraged to publiſh it by 'the confidence with which he ſaw it diſperſed; 'for it was printed by him in the morning, and 'not brought hither till the afternoon. I cannot, 'therefore, but conclude, that his intentions were 'agreeable to his practice, and that he deſerves to 'accompany the author in his preſent confinement.'

Alex. Hume Campbell, Eſq; ſpoke next in terms to this purpoſe.

'Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Campbell's* ſpeech.

'Sir, I hope it will not be imputed to me as 'diſregard of the government, or neglect of the 'honour of this houſe, that I declare myſelf on 'all occaſions like this, inclined to lenity, and 'think it neceſſary always to proceed by regular 'methods, and known forms of juſtice, not by 'capricious determinations, and orders variable at 'pleaſure.

'I oppoſed the impriſonment of the man who 'juſt now appeared at the bar of our houſe, and 'am ſtill more unwilling to proceed to ſeverities 'againſt another, who is criminal only in a ſubordinate degree. The loudeſt declaimers againſt 'theſe men cannot have ſtronger deteſtation of 'falſhood and ſedition than myſelf; but however 'flagrant may be the crimes, they may be puniſhed with unjuſtifiable rigour, and, in my opinion, 'we have already proceeded with ſeverity ſufficient to diſcourage any other attempts of the 'ſame kind.

'Whether

'Whether it will promote the advantage of the 'publick, and the efficacy of our deliberations, 'to deter any man from the common practice of 'giving us information by delivering papers at 'our door, muſt be conſidered by the houſe.

'Nor is it leſs worthy of our moſt attentive 'inquiry, whether it is not more reaſonable to 'proſecute this offender in the common forms of 'juſtice, than to puniſh him by any act of uncon-'trolable, unaccountable authority. Whether it is 'not more reaſonable to have him proſecuted be-'fore a judge unprejudiced, and a diſintereſted 'jury, than to act at once as party, evidence, and 'judge. I have no deſire, Sir, of diminiſhing the 'privileges of this houſe; and yet, leſs would I 'contribute to eſtabliſh any precedents of unlimit-'ed power, or arbitrary puniſhments.'

Mr. Attorney General then ſpoke to the follow-ing effect.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, Whence ſo much tenderneſs can ariſe for 'an offender of this kind, I am at a loſs to diſco-'ver, nor am I able to conceive any argument 'that can be produced for exempting from puniſh-'ment the printer of a paper, which has been al-'ready determined by the vote of the houſe, to 'be a ſcandalous libel, tending to promote ſedi-'tion. Mr. Attorney General's ſpeech.

'It has been, indeed, agreed, that there are 'contained in the paper ſome true poſitions, and 'ſome paſſages innocent at leaſt, and perhaps ra-'tional and ſeaſonable. But this, Sir, is nothing 'more than to ſay, that the paper, flagitious as it 'is, might have been ſwell'd to a greater degree 'of impudence and ſcurrility; that what is already 'too heinous to be borne, might by greater viru-'lence become more enormous.

'If no wickedneſs, Sir, is to be check'd till it 'has attained the greateſt height at which it can 'poſſibly arrive, our courts of criminal judicature 'may be ſhut up as uſeleſs; and if a few innocent 'paragraphs will palliate a libel, treaſon may be 'written, and diſperſed without danger or re-'ſtraint; for what libel was ever ſo crowded with 'ſedition, that a few periods might not have been 'ſelected, which, upon this principle, might have 'ſecured it from cenſure?

'The danger of diſcouraging intelligence from 'being offered at the door of our houſe, does not 'alarm me with any apprehenſions of diſadvan-'tage to the nation; for I have not ſo mean an 'opinion of the wiſdom of this aſſembly, as to 'imagine that they can receive any aſſiſtance from 'the informations of their officious inſtructors, 'who ought, in my opinion, Sir, rather to be 'taught by ſome parliamentary cenſure to know 'their own ſtation, than to be encouraged to 'neglect their proper employments, for the ſake 'of directing their governors.

'When bills, Sir, are depending, by which 'either the intereſt of the nation, or of particular 'men, may be thought to be endangered, it is 'indeed the inconteſtable right of every *Britiſh* 'ſubject to offer his petition at the bar of the 'houſe, and to deliver the reaſons upon which it is 'founded. This is a privilege of an unalienable 'kind, and which is never to be infringed or de-'nied; and this may always be ſupported without 'countenancing anonymous intelligence, or re-'ceiving ſuch papers as the authors of them are 'afraid or aſhamed to own, and which they, 'therefore, employ meaner hands to diſtribute.

'Of this kind, Sir, undoubtedly is the paper 'now under our conſideration, of which I am far 'from imagining that it was drawn up by the 'man who declares himſelf the writer, and am

'therefore

'therefore convinced of the neceſſity of calling 'the printer to the bar, that whatever the lenity 'or juſtice of this aſſembly may determine with 'regard to his puniſhment, he may be examined 'with reſpect to the real author of the libel; and 'that our reſentment may fall upon him, who has 'endeavour'd to ſhelter himſelf by expoſing ano-'ther.'

Mr. *Ord* ſpoke to this effect.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, I am inclined to believe, that the perſons 'aſſociated in writing and diſperſing this paper, 'whoſoever they may be, are of no high rank, 'or conſiderable influence; as it is not likely that 'any man who had much to hazard, would ex-'poſe himſelf to the reſentment of the whole le-'giſlature; but let us not for that reaſon exert our 'ſuperiority in wanton puniſhment, or tyrannize 'merely becauſe we cannot be reſiſted. Let us 'remember that the ſame juſtice and the ſame 'humanity is due to the meaneſt, as the higheſt 'of our fellow ſubjects; and that there is even 'leſs neceſſity of rigorous meaſures, as the attack 'is leſs formidable. Mr. *Ord*'s ſpeech.

'But, Sir, there is one motive to moderation 'that has ſeldom been found leſs efficacious than 'the conſideration of the laws of juſtice or hu-'manity. We ought to be withheld by regard to 'our poſterity, and even to ourſelves, from any 'exorbitant extenſion of our privileges. We 'know, that authority once exerted, is claimed 'afterwards by preſcription. And who knows by 'what ſudden rotation of power, he may himſelf 'ſuffer by a precedent which he has concurred to 'eſtabliſh, and feel the weight of that oppreſſive 'power which he firſt granted for the puniſhment 'of another?'

Then *John Howe*, Eſq; ſpoke thus.

'Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Howe*'s ſpeech. 'Sir, I am always unwilling to oppoſe any propoſal of lenity and forbearance, nor have now 'any intention of heightening the guilt of this 'man by cruel exaggerations, or inciting the houſe 'to rigour and perſecution.

'But let us remember, Sir, that juſtice and 'mercy are equally to be regarded, and while 'we pity the folly of a miſguided or perhaps a 'thoughtleſs offender, let us not ſuffer ourſelves 'to be betrayed by our compaſſion, to injure ourſelves and our poſterity.

'This houſe, Sir, has always claim'd and exerted the privilege of judging of every offence 'againſt itſelf, a privilege ſo long eſtabliſhed, and 'ſo conſtantly exerciſed, that I doubt whether the 'inferior courts of judicature will take cognizance 'of an attack upon us; for how can they venture 'to decide upon a queſtion of ſuch importance, 'without any form or precedent for their proceedings?

'There ſeems alſo to be at this time, Sir, an 'uncommon neceſſity for tenaciouſneſs of our privileges, when, as ſome whiſpers which have been 'wafted from the other houſe inform us, a motion has been made in terms which might imply 'the ſubordination of this aſſembly; an aſſertion 'without foundation either in reaſon or juſtice, 'and which I ſhall always oppoſe as deſtructive to 'our rights, and dangerous to our conſtitution.

'Let us therefore, Sir, retain in our hands the 'cognizance of this affair, and let the criminal 'either ſuffer his puniſhment from our ſentence, 'or owe his pardon to our mercy.'

It

It was agreed, that the printer of the *Daily Poſt* ſhould attend next day, when being called in, it was propoſed that he ſhould be aſked, whether he printed the paper complained of. It was objected to, for the ſame reaſon as the queſtion about the author's being in the gallery, becauſe the anſwer might tend to accuſe himſelf; and he being withdrawn, a debate of the ſame nature enſued, and the queſtion being put, whether he ſhould be aſked, if he be the perſon that printed the daily paper ſhewn to him, which paper the houſe the day before reſolved to contain a malicious and ſcandalous libel, *&c.* it was on a diviſion carried in the affirmative, by 222 againſt 163; accordingly he was called in again, and being aſked the queſtion, he own'd that he printed the ſaid paper from a printed copy which was left for him with one of his ſervants; and being aſked what he had to alledge in his juſtification or excuſe for printing the ſaid libel, he ſaid that as he had before printed ſeveral other things which he had received from the ſaid perſon, which had not given offence, he inſerted part of the paper in his news, and which he ſhould not have inſerted, if he had thought it would have given offence to the houſe, and that he forbore to print the remainder, having heard that it had given offence. Upon which he withdrew, and the houſe after ſome debate, on a diviſion 188 to 145, not only ordered him into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant, but reſolved to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give directions to his Attorney General to proſecute him at law.

The firſt printer of the libel was alſo ordered into cuſtody. This was on *December* 3, but the next day preſenting his petition, expreſſing his ſorrow for the offence, whereby he had juſtly incurred the diſpleaſure of the houſe, and praying to

be diſcharged, he was brought to the bar on the following day, received a reprimand on his knees, and was ordered to be diſcharged, paying his fees.

On *December* 12, the Lord *Barrington* preſented a petition from the printer of the *Daily Poſt*, expreſſing his ſorrow, promiſing all poſſible care not to offend for the future, and praying to be diſcharged.

This petition being read, a motion was made, That the ſerjeant at arms do carry the petitioner to ſome court of law, to give ſecurity for his appearance to the proſecution to be carried on againſt him by the Attorney General, which done, that he be diſcharged, paying his fees.

Sir *William Yonge* ſpoke to this effect.

'Mr. Speaker,

Sir *William Yonge*'s ſpeech.

'Sir, I know not for what reaſon this enormous 'offender is entitled to ſo much regard, or by 'what intereſt he has engaged ſo many, who, I 'doubt not, abhor his crimes, to pity his ſufferings.

'Had he been young and unexperienced, and 'ſeduced into the commiſſion of this offence by 'artifice, or perſuaſion, his act might have been 'reaſonably conſidered rather as an error than a 'crime, and it might have been proper to treat 'with lenity a delinquent neither obſtinate nor 'malicious.

'But how, Sir, can this plea be urged in favour 'of a man, whoſe daily employment it has been, 'for theſe two years paſt, to miſrepreſent the 'publick meaſures, to diſperſe ſcandal, and excite 'rebellion, who has induſtriouſly propagated eve-'ry murmur of diſcontent, and preſerved every 'whiſper of malevolence from periſhing in the 'birth.

'The proper judge, Sir, of this affair, is his 'Majeſty's Attorney General, who is not now in

'the

'the houſe. I am, therefore, for detaining him 'in cuſtody, and for referring the conſideration of 'farther proceedings againſt him, to that gentle-'man whoſe proper province it is to proſecute for 'the crown.'

Edmund Waller, Eſq; ſpoke next to the following purpoſe.

'Mr. Speaker,

'Sir, It is undoubtedly the duty of every man 'to oppoſe the introduction of new laws, and 'methods of oppreſſion and ſeverity, which our 'conſtitution does not admit; and what elſe is 'the mention of a priſoner's character as an aggra-'vation of his preſent offence. Mr. *Waller's* ſpeech.

'It is well known, and has been already aſſert-'ed, upon this occaſion, that in the lower courts 'of juſtice, though the priſoner may plead his 'character in his own defence, his proſecutor is 'not at liberty to produce it to his diſadvantage. 'Even thoſe who are cited to the bar for murder 'or for treaſon, are tried only by the evidence of 'that crime for which they are indicted.

'That this houſe is not bound to ſtrict forms, 'and is not accountable for the exerciſe of its 'power, is eaſily granted; but authority cannot 'change the nature of things, and what is unjuſt 'in a lower court, would be in us not leſs unjuſt, 'though it may not be puniſhable.'

It was replied, that this queſtion had been before ſufficiently diſcuſſed.

The Attorney General not being preſent, the debate was adjourned to next *Monday*.

On *December* 15, the Lord *Barrington* propoſed, that the adjourned debate might be reſumed, and ſeveral members interceded for the petitioner, that he might be releaſed; to which it was objected,

That it was not proper to releaſe him, unleſs an information was lodg'd againſt him, without which he could not be held to bail; and the queſtion being put, whether he ſhould be releaſed, it was determined in the negative.

On *January* 21, the author of the libel who was committed to *Newgate*, petition'd the houſe to permit him to implore pardon on his knees, and promiſing by the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolemn aſſurances not to offend again, was order'd to be diſcharg'd the next day, paying his fees.

On *February* 10, the printer of *The Daily Poſt* again petition'd the houſe, repreſenting, that he moſt heartily bewailed his offence, that he was miſerably reduced by his confinement, having borrow'd money of all his friends to ſupport himſelf, his wife and children, and praying the mercy of the houſe. He was then order'd to be diſcharg'd, paying his fees, and giving ſecurity for his appearance to anſwer the proſecution..

April 8, *George Heathcote*, Eſq; offer'd another petition for the ſaid printer, and repreſented, that the fees amounting to 120 *l.* he was not able to pay them, that therefore he hoped the houſe would conſider his caſe; but the petition was not allow'd to be brought up, on which he remain'd in cuſtody fourteen days longer, till the end of the ſeſſion, and the authority of the Parliament ceaſing, had his liberty without paying any fees.

Motion in the houſe of Lords for Admiral *Vernon*'s inſtructions.

Monday, *December* 1. The Lord *Bathurſt* ſtood up in the houſe of Lords, and ſpoke to the following effect:

Lord *Bathurſt*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'In the firſt debate that happened amongſt 'us this ſeſſion, it was acknowledged by every 'Lord who ſpoke in the debate, that this houſe

'not only may inquire into the conduct of paſt 'meaſures, but that we may, and ought, as the 'great hereditary council of the crown, to give 'our advice, with regard to future meaſures, in 'every caſe that appears to be of great impor-'tance; and upon that occaſion, every one of 'your Lordſhips ſeemed extremely willing to 'enter upon an inquiry into our late conduct. 'This, my Lords, incouraged me to think of 'what was proper for this purpoſe; and the re-'ſult of my thoughts upon this ſubject is the 'cauſe of the motion, which I am now to make 'to your Lordſhips, and which I take upon me 'to make, not only becauſe I am willing, but 'becauſe I think the loud complaints that are 'generally ſpread among the people, have now 'made it abſolutely neceſſary for this houſe to 'inquire into the conduct and management of 'the war we are now unfortunately ingaged in.

'A ſtate of war, my Lords, is a moſt trouble-'ſome, dangerous, and expenſive ſtate to any na-'tion whatſoever; but to a trading nation it is 'more ſo, than to any other: This our preſent 'moſt excellent miniſters have often declared: 'They ſeemed to be ſo ſenſible of this, but a very 'ſhort while ſince, that they made it an excuſe 'for ſubmitting to as cruel inſults, continuing 'as tedious and hopeleſs negotiations, and a-'greeing to as infamous treaties, as any age or 'country can parallel. Therefore, when our 'miniſters found themſelves unavoidably oblig'd 'to ingage in war, their firſt and chief conſide-'ration ſhould have been, to have taken the 'moſt proper meaſures for bringing that war to 'a ſpeedy, as well as happy concluſion. It 'may be the advantage of a miniſter to have 'his country ingaged in war, and to prolong 'that war as much as he can, eſpecially when 'the war happens to be ſuch a one as he may

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'manage ſo as not to run any conſiderable riſk 'of a misfortune, and at the ſame time to gain 'a little triumph now and then, for cheering 'the ſpirits, and amuſing the minds of the un-'thinking part of his countrymen, without al-'lowing them to puſh their ſucceſs ſo far, as to 'compel the enemy to offer a *Carte Blanche*. 'This ſort of conduct, I ſay, may often happen 'to be the intereſt of a miniſter, but it can ne-'ver be the intereſt of a nation, eſpecially of 'this nation. The injuſtice, the haughtineſs, 'or the ambition of foreign courts may force us 'into a war; but when this misfortune happens, 'it is certainly the intereſt of the nation to puſh 'the war with all poſſible vigour and diſpatch, 'in order to put an end to the misfortune, as 'ſoon as we can, by forcing the enemy to ſub-'mit to reaſonable terms of peace; and when 'miniſters do not puſh the war with vigour and 'diſpatch, it is the buſineſs and the duty of this 'houſe to inquire into their conduct, to puniſh 'them for their neglect, and to put the future 'management of the war into other hands.

'When the war we are now ingaged in was 'firſt reſolved on, every one of your Lordſhips, 'and, I believe, every man in the kingdom, 'concluded, that the *Weſt-Indies* was the moſt 'proper place for proſecuting the war ſo as to 'bring it to a ſpeedy, as well as happy iſſue. E-'very one ſaw it was there, where we could moſt 'hurt the enemy, where they were the leaſt ca-'pable to defend themſelves, and where we might 'puſh the war with the moſt eaſe and greateſt 'advantage. Every one therefore concluded, 'that the war would be begun by a vigorous 'puſh in that part of the world, and every 'one ſtands amazed, that for near a year and a 'half after orders had been actually diſpatched 'for committing hoſtilities, no enterprize of

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'great importance had been undertaken againſt
'any of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*, nor
'any proper force ſent thither for ſuch a purpoſe.
'When I ſay this, my Lords, I would not be
'thought to derogate in the leaſt from Admiral
'*Vernon's* enterprize upon *Porto Bello*: It was a
'bold undertaking, and was attended with moſt
'glorious, I will ſay, moſt unexpected ſucceſs;
'but no one can ſay it was an enterprize concert-
'ed, or ſo much as dreamt of by our miniſters;
'becauſe that Admiral was not, in their opinion,
'according to what they had upon a former oc-
'caſion declared, provided with a force ſufficient
'for that or any other ſuch enterprize; and his ſuc-
'ceſs ſhewed, that if he had been provided with
'a proper force, that enterprize might have been
'puſhed much farther, and made more advan-
'tageous to this nation, and more prejudicial to
'the enemy. For it is very certain, that if he
'had been provided with a proper land force,
'and ſuch a one as we might eaſily have ſpared
'to have ſent along with him, or ſoon after him,
'he might have kept poſſeſſion of *Porto Bello*,
'inſtead of deſtroying it, and might have made
'himſelf maſter of *Panama*, by which means we
'ſhould have laid the whole coaſt of *Chili* and
'*Peru*, and the weſtern coaſt of *Mexico*, open
'both to our trade, and to our attacks; and be-
'ing thus maſters of the Iſthmus of *Darien*,
'by ſending proper reinforcements, and taking
'proper care to prevent the enemy's ſending
'any, we might ſoon have made ourſelves abſo-
'lute maſters of the mines of *Peru*, none of
'which lie a great way from the weſtern coaſt of
'*America*, which would at once have put an end
'to the war, or would have enabled us to car-
'ry it on, at the enemy's expence, againſt who-
'ever ſhould have dared, either to join with
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'them againſt us, or to preſcribe limits to the 'operations of his Majeſty's arms.

'My Lords, if our inactivity, or rather our 'providing for activity in the *Weſt-Indies*, had 'been retarded or prevented by a deſigned enter- 'prize in any other part of the world, or by any 'well-grounded apprehenſions of a dangerous 'invaſion, there would have been ſome excuſe; 'but as we ſeem not to have ſo much as thought 'of any other enterprize, and as it is impoſſible 'for any power in *Europe* to invade theſe 'kingdoms with any ſuch land force, as may be 'dangerous, whilſt we have a ſuperior force at 'ſea, and are able to lock them up in their 'ports, this inactivity in the *Weſt-Indies*, and our 'delay in providing for any enterprize of conſe- 'quence in that part of the world, appears 'abſolutely inexcuſable to all thoſe, who are 'ignorant of the ſecret ſprings of our publick 'conduct. To vulgar eyes it appears to proceed 'from nothing but the moſt ſupine negligence, 'or the moſt ſtupid weakneſs, that miniſters 'were ever guilty of: Nay, there are many in 'this kingdom, and ſome of them of no ſmall 'figure, who are apt to aſcribe it to ſomething 'worſe than negligence or weakneſs. They know 'that ſome of our miniſters were againſt the 'war, notwithſtanding all the provocation we had 'met with: From hence they ſuſpect, that theſe 'miniſters have reſolved we ſhall have no ſucceſs 'in the war, ſo far as they are able, by their art 'or power, to prevent it; and that in purſuance 'of this reſolution, they took care we ſhould not 'attack the enemy in any part of the world, 'till they had fair warning, and ſufficient time 'to provide for their defence; ſo that if we have 'ſucceſs any where, it will be owing to the na- 'tural indolence and lazineſs, or the cowardice 'of the enemy we have to deal with, and not to

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'the wiſdom, diligence, or conduct of our own 'miniſters.

'What I have already obſerved, ſhews, that 'in this war we ſtumbled, our miniſters were 'guilty of negligence, weakneſs, or wickedneſs, 'at the very firſt ſetting out: But, have we 'ſince recover'd ourſelves? Have our miniſters, 'by their conduct ſince, atoned for the fault 'they committed at the beginning of the war? 'No, my Lords: Even after we heard of Ad-'miral *Vernon*'s ſucceſs at *Porto Bello*, and from 'thence were convinced, how defenceleſs the 'enemy were in that part of the world, we took no 'care to ſend him any proper ſupply, either of 'ſhips or land forces; nor did we take a proper 'care, as is generally ſuppoſed, to prevent the 'enemy from ſending reinforcements thither. 'Nay, if any credit is to be given to vulgar re-'ports, Mr. *Vernon* was ſent out ſo ill provided 'with naval ſtores, that after the affair of *Porto* '*Bello*, he was obliged to lie by, ſeveral months, 'during the moſt proper ſeaſon for action in that 'part of the world for mere want of ſpare maſts, 'ſails, and other implements neceſſary for refit-'ting his ſhips; which, if true, muſt be allow'd 'to be a moſt criminal ſort of overſight; for, 'ſurely, it will not be imputed to our want 'of naval ſtores here at home, conſidering the 'vaſt ſums that have of late years been given 'for the ſupport of our navy, and conſidering 'that no ſum has lately ever been refuſed by 'Parliament, which was deſired by our miniſters, 'on that or any other account.

'I could mention, my Lords, many other 'miſmanagements, and fatal neglects in the con-'duct of the preſent war, which can no way be ac-'counted for by thoſe who are not let into any of 'the ſecrets of ſtate; and from hence, my Lords, 'there is now ſuch a general clamour raiſed in

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'the nation, that this houſe muſt inquire into the 'late conduct of our miniſters, if we have any 'regard to our character, or if we have any regard 'to our duty, either to our King or our coun-'try. When a general clamour is raiſed among 'the people againſt the conduct of the King's 'miniſters, it muſt be either with or without a 'real foundation. If it be without a real foun-'dation, we are in juſtice to the miniſters, and 'in duty to our Sovereign, obliged to inquire 'ſtrictly and impartially into their conduct; be-'cauſe from thence the people will be convinced 'that their clamour was without any real foun-'dation, and that what appeared to be owing 'to the miſconduct of the miniſters, was truly 'the effect of accidents or fatalities, which the 'miniſters could neither foreſee nor prevent. 'By this means, we ſhall do juſtice to our own 'character, by ſhewing the people that we do 'not neglect their ſafety; we ſhall do juſtice to 'the character of the King's miniſters, by ſhew-'ing the people that they are innocent; and we 'ſhall do eminent ſervice to the King, by con-'vincing the people that he employs no fools or 'knaves in the adminiſtration of publick affairs.

'On the other hand, my Lords, if there be a 'real foundation for the clamours raiſed among 'the people againſt the conduct of the admini-'ſtration, your Lordſhips are bound in duty both 'to your King and country, to inquire into that 'conduct. To your country you are in duty 'bound, that it may no longer ſuffer by the 'weakneſs or wickedneſs of its governors; and 'to your King you are in duty bound, that 'he may no longer be expoſed to the danger of 'loſing the affections of his people by the miſ-'conduct of his miniſters.

'Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that when 'there is a general clamour among the people,

'againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration, whether that clamour be groundleſs or no, we are 'in duty to our own character, in duty to our 'King, in duty to our country, bound to inquire 'into the conduct of our miniſters; and this inquiry muſt not be partial or ſuperficial: We 'muſt have all papers, all materials, laid before 'us that are neceſſary for coming at the truth: 'Without this we can give no ſatisfaction to the 'people: We cannot diſtinguiſh the guilty 'from the innocent: The people will judge, 'whether we are in earneſt or no, by the materials we have before us, and by the perſons 'chiefly employ'd to make that inquiry: From 'thence they will judge, whether our inquiry be 'partial and ſuperficial; and if they ſuppoſe it 'is, our juſtification of the conduct of the miniſters, inſtead of reſtoring their character, 'will make us loſe our own. Therefore, if the 'the miniſters be perfectly innocent, if they 'have been guilty of no fault, they will not only 'promote our inquiry, but they will furniſh us 'with every thing neceſſary for our information, 'and will deſire that the inquiry may be chiefly 'conducted by thoſe who cannot be ſuſpected of 'being partial in their favour. I cannot pretend 'to the honour of ſaying, the miniſters are my 'friends, but I will ſay, that, if they are innocent, I am not their enemy; and as I hope 'they will, upon a ſtrict inquiry, appear to be 'ſo, I ſhall be ſo much their friend as to tell 'them, that, conſidering the publick ſcandal 'they lie under, the wiſeſt and beſt courſe they 'can take, either for themſelves, their Sovereign, 'or their country, is to ſubmit their conduct to 'the publick cenſure; and for that purpoſe, to 'furniſh us with all papers that can be thought 'neceſſary for our thorough information.

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'I know, my Lords, it may be ſaid, that 'there are many papers which cannot, conſiſtent-'ly with the publick ſafety, be laid before this 'houſe, becauſe the ſecrets of our government 'might thereby be diſcovered to our enemies. 'This argument I do not think of any weight, 'becauſe in ſuch caſes we may appoint a ſecret 'committee to inſpect ſuch papers, and to re-'port ſuch parts of them, as may be communi-'cated without danger, with their opinion upon 'the whole: However, as ſome of your Lord-'ſhips may be of a different opinion, and as I am 'willing to have what I propoſe unanimouſly 'agreed to, I have taken care to obviate this ar-'gument againſt my motion, which is this:—— "To reſolve that an humble addreſs be pre-"ſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graci-"ouſly pleaſed to give directions to the proper "officer, to lay before this houſe, copies of the "ſeveral orders and inſtructions given to Vice-"Admiral *Vernon*, from the time of his ſailing "from *England* in the year 1739, to the 24th "of *June* laſt, except only ſuch parts of thoſe "orders and inſtructions, which relate to any "particular deſign, yet remaining to be exe-"cuted."

'My Lords, conſidering the exception I have 'taken care to add to this motion, I cannot ſug-'geſt to myſelf any objection that can be made 'to it. If your Lordſhips are reſolv'd to give 'any ſatisfaction to the people, by an inquiry 'into the conduct of our miniſters: Nay, if you 'have any thoughts of exerting yourſelves in 'your high capacity of hereditary great council 'of the crown, upon this occaſion, which muſt be 'allow'd to be as important, as any that ever hap-'pen'd: Nay further, if the miniſters themſelves, 'are not conſcious of their own miſconduct, this 'motion muſt, in my opinion, be unanimouſly

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'agreed to; and therefore, I think it unneceſſary 'to take up your Lordſhips time with ſaying 'any thing more in its favour.'

The firſt that ſpoke againſt it was the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

'My Lords,

'That this houſe has a right to inquire into 'the conduct of paſt meaſures, or that we may 'offer our advice to the crown, in relation to 'future meaſures, are queſtions that will never, I 'believe, be diſputed by any Lord who has the 'honour of a ſeat in this aſſembly; but the 'queſtions that uſually come to be diſputed up- 'on ſuch occaſions, are, whether it is then ne- 'ceſſary or proper for us to inquire, or to offer 'our advice. As to an inquiry into the conduct 'of paſt meaſures, I hope it will not be ſo much 'as alledg'd, that it is at all times proper to 'inquire, or that we ever ought to ſet up ſuch 'an inquiry, without ſome very good reaſons 'for ſo doing; therefore, when an inquiry 'is propoſed, the two queſtions that naturally 'occur, are, whether there be any reaſon for the 'inquiry propoſed, and whether that be a pro- 'per time for ſetting up ſuch an inquiry. To ſay, 'that a general clamour among the people af- 'fords a good reaſon for an inquiry, is, in my 'opinion, a very improper rule for any Lord in 'this houſe to determine himſelf by; becauſe 'there never was an adminiſtration, whoſe con- 'duct was not clamour'd againſt by ſome; nor 'was there ever a publick meaſure purſued, which 'was not miſrepreſented and complained of by 'ſome perſons in the kingdom; therefore, it is 'very difficult, if not impoſſible, for any Lord 'to

Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s ſpeech.

'to determine, whether or no a clamour be general, and the deciding this queſtion will appear 'ſtill more difficult or impoſſible, if we 'conſider the preſent circumſtances of this nation.

'Your Lordſhips all know, that we ſtill have 'in this kingdom a very numerous party, who 'are diſaffected to our preſent happy eſtabliſh-'ment: From this party we muſt expect, that 'they will be continually endeavouring to raiſe 'a clamour againſt the wiſeſt meaſures that can 'be purſued by the adminiſtration; and in this 'they will always be joined by thoſe, who find 'fault with publick meaſures for no other rea-'ſon, but becauſe they were not concerned in 'adviſing or proſecuting them. Theſe two bo-'dies of men will at all times form a very con-'ſiderable party, and as the people in general 'are more apt to condemn, than to applaud the 'conduct of men in power, the endeavours of 'theſe two bodies of men will always be too 'ſucceſsful, eſpecially as in this kingdom every 'man may not only ſpeak, hut write and publiſh 'almoſt whatever he pleaſes, againſt the govern-'ment of his country. Thus whilſt our preſent 'happy eſtabliſhment endures, which I hope will 'be as long as the world laſts, we muſt expect, 'that there will be a clamour againſt the wiſeſt 'meaſures that can be purſued by the admini-'ſtration; but ſuch a clamour will not, I hope, 'be ſaid to be a ſufficient ground for this houſe 'to proceed to an inquiry into the conduct of 'paſt meaſures; becauſe ſuch inquiry not on-'ly takes up the time of this houſe, which 'might be otherwiſe better employ'd, but it 'diverts the attention of our miniſters, and forces 'them to apply to their own juſtification and 'preſervation, that care and time, which ought to

'be applied to the ſafety and proſperity of the 'publick.

'A clamour, therefore, among the people, 'however general it may appear, is not, I think, 'of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify any Lord in giving 'his vote for an inquiry; conſequently we muſt 'look for another rule, by which we are to deter-'mine, whether there be a ſufficient reaſon for the 'inquiry propoſed; and this rule is, in my opi-'nion, very far from being difficult to be found. 'It is in ſhort this: Before any Lord conſents to 'an inquiry into the conduct of paſt meaſures, he 'ought to conſider that conduct, and the light in 'which it appears to him; and if upon a general 'ſurvey, he can find no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it 'has been extremely weak, or extremely wicked, 'he ought not to give his conſent to an inquiry. 'I ſay, my Lords, extremely weak, or extremely 'wicked; for I do not think, that human frailties 'or overſights can afford ſufficient cauſe for this 'houſe to proceed to an inquiry; nor can any 'publick misfortune afford ſuch a cauſe, if there 'appears to be a probability, that it was owing to 'ſuch accidents as could not be foreſeen, or ſuch 'as could not be prevented, by thoſe intruſted 'with the management of our publick affairs.

'This, my Lords, is the only rule for judging, 'whether we have at preſent a ſufficient ground 'for ſetting up an inquiry into the conduct of paſt 'meaſures, and according to this rule I can find 'no ſuch ground. We have as yet, thank God! 'met with no uncommon or unexpected misfor-'tune in the war in which we are now unhappily 'engaged. We have not as yet, perhaps, met 'with all the ſucceſs, which was at the beginning 'expected by ſome ſanguine perſons, who were 'ignorant of the difficulties we had to encounter, 'and the dangerous ſituation in which the affairs

'of *Europe* happened to be, when we found ourſelves obliged to declare war. But we have met with greater ſucceſs than could reaſonably be expected by any man, who was fully informed: We have already done the enemy greater miſchief than they can repair for many years; we have opened a moſt beneficial trade to the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in the *Weſt-Indies*; and upon the balance, I believe, we have taken a great deal more from the enemy at ſea, than they have been able to take from us, notwithſtanding the vaſt diſproportion between the trade and navigation of *Great Britain*, and the trade and navigation of *Spain*. Theſe, my Lords, are conſiderable advantages, and if we have not reaped greater, it has been intirely owing to the weak condition we were in, when *Spain* made it abſolutely neceſſary for us to iſſue letters of repriſal, by refuſing that ſatisfaction ſhe had ſo ſolemnly promiſed in the late convention. We had then no troops on foot, but ſuch as were judged abſolutely neceſſary for our defence in time of peace, and we had not near ſuch a number of men of war in commiſſion, as were neceſſary for guarding our coaſts, our trade, and our valuable ſettlements in the *Mediterranean*. It was therefore neceſſary to think of providing for our own defence, before we could provide for attacking the enemy; and as the power of our government is more limited than the power of any other, every one knows the difficulties our government muſt always meet with, both in raiſing ſoldiers and ſeamen.

'My Lords, if we had no diſaffected party amongſt ourſelves, or if we had, at the beginning of the war, had no enemy to fear but *Spain*, we might perhaps have ventured to have ſent a few of our regular troops for attacking *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, before we had replaced them by

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'new levies; but neither of theſe was the caſe. 'We have ſtill a diſaffected party amongſt us, 'and though that party may not of itſelf be for-'midable to the government, yet, if the *Spaniards* 'had found means to land four or five thouſand 'regular troops in any part of *Britain* or *Ireland*, 'at a time when we had not a ſufficient number 'of regular troops for our defence, the invaders 'would have been joined by ſuch a number of 'the diſaffected, as would have made it very diffi-'cult for us to ſupport our government at home, 'and conſequently utterly impoſſible for us to 'attack the enemy, or even to defend our own 'dominions abroad. I know, that this will now 'be repreſented as a vain and ridiculous ap-'prehenſion, becauſe, by the wiſdom and care of 'our miniſters, the danger has been prevented; 'but if they, by ſending our ſquadrons and troops 'abroad, had expoſed us to the danger of an in-'vaſion at home, and the enemy had thereby 'found an opportunity to land ſome troops in '*Britain* or *Ireland*, I am ſure it would have af-'forded a much better reaſon for an inquiry into 'their conduct, than any can be now aſſigned.

'Therefore the danger of an invaſion, even 'from *Spain*, was a good reaſon for our delaying 'to ſend any troops to the *Weſt-Indies*, till a ſuffi-'cient number could be raiſed for that purpoſe, 'which was done, in my opinion, with all poſſi-'ble diſpatch, and the fleet, with thoſe troops on 'board, ſailed as ſoon as the winds would permit; 'for I hope it will not be imputed to any miſcon-'duct of our miniſters, that the winds continued 'for two or three months in the weſtern corner. 'But *Spain*, my Lords, was not the only enemy 'we had, or have yet to fear: There is another 'Potentate in *Europe*, whoſe intereſt it is to pre-'vent this nation's extending its dominions in *A-'merica*, and therefore we had reaſon to appre-

'hend from the beginning, that he would join 'with *Spain* againſt us, if he ſaw any probability 'of doing it with ſucceſs. The only method we 'had to prevent this probability, was to provide 'for our defence, both by land and ſea, in ſuch a 'manner, as to prevent its being in his power to 'do us a miſchief here at home, or give a check 'to our arms abroad, even though he ſhould 'openly join with *Spain* for that purpoſe; and 'this made it neceſſary for us to keep greater ar-'mies at home, and more powerful ſquadrons up-'on our coaſts, than we ſhould otherwiſe have 'had occaſion for. Even the very ſuſpicion of 'our deſigning to make conqueſts upon *Spain* in '*America*, has, we find, made this Potentate ſend 'his ſquadrons to the *Weſt-Indies:* What they 'intend to do there, is not as yet known; but 'if they intend any thing againſt us, it is to be 'hoped, his Majeſty's ſquadrons, now gone thi-'ther, will be able to give a good account of 'them. I am far from ſuppoſing, they have or-'ders to join with *Spain*, or to act any way againſt 'this nation; but their having ſailed thither juſti-'fies the ſuſpicions of our miniſters, and ſhews, 'that they were in the right to provide againſt 'the worſt, eſpecially here at home; for nature 'itſelf teaches us to guard chiefly the moſt vital 'parts, and even to expoſe the members for pre-'venting a blow in any vital part.

'Thus, my Lords, our not having till very 'lately ſent any land force to the *Weſt-Indies*, 'may be eaſily accounted for; and the ill ſucceſs 'of all our former expeditions againſt *Old Spain* 'muſt ſhew, that it would have been very impru-'dent in us to make any ſuch new attempt. Such 'attempts muſt always put this nation to a vaſt 'expence; and whatever profit private men may 'get by plunder, the nation can expect no advan-'tage, nor can we greatly diſtreſs the enemy, by

'any

'any ſuch attempt, let it prove ever ſo ſucceſsful. 'The chief thing we had to do in the *Mediterra-* 'nean, or upon the coaſts of *Spain*, was to pro- 'tect our trade and our ſettlements in that part of 'the world, which we have effectually done; and 'the only thing we could reaſonably pretend to 'do in the *Weſt-Indies*, till after we had provided 'for our defence at home, was to prevent the re- 'turn of the galleons, which we have likewiſe 'effectually done: Nay, by the conduct and 'bravery of the Admiral which his Majeſty was 'pleaſed to ſend thither, we have done a great 'deal more; for by the demolition of the fortifi- 'cations at *Porto Bello* and *Chagre*, we have made 'it impoſſible for any galleons ever to return, as 'long as the war continues between *Great Britain* 'and *Spain*. This of itſelf muſt bring great diſ- 'treſs both upon the court and kingdom of *Spain*, 'and will at laſt compel them to ſubmit to reaſon- 'able terms, without our making any conqueſts 'in that part of the world, which will, in my o- 'pinion, be a dangerous attempt, not only becauſe 'of the difficulty attending the experiment, but 'becauſe it may unite all the trading powers of '*Europe* in a league againſt us.

'Therefore, my Lords, as things appear to me 'from thoſe circumſtances that are publick, I can 'ſee no reaſon to find fault with the management 'of the war, and conſequently I can ſee no reaſon 'for our giving either ourſelves or the King's ſer- 'vants the trouble of inquiring into their conduct. 'I ſay, my Lords, as things appear to me from 'thoſe circumſtances that are publick, which eve- 'ry one of your Lordſhips is as good a judge of 'as I am; for I do not pretend to argue from any 'ſecret intelligence; if I had the liberty to do ſo, 'I might perhaps give a much greater weight to 'my argument; I might perhaps be able to clear 'the adminiſtration of every ſuſpicion of miſ-

'conduct; but this I do not think neceſſary, be-
'cauſe in the preſent caſe it is ſufficient to argue
'from publick appearances; it is from them thoſe
'Lords muſt argue, who happen to have no ſhare
'in the adminiſtration; and if from them we find
'no reaſon to ſuſpect our miniſters of extreme
'weakneſs or wickedneſs in the conduct of pub-
'lick affairs, we can have no ſufficient ground for
'ſetting up a parliamentary inquiry, which muſt
'always be troubleſome, if not dangerous, and
'can be attended with no national advantage,
'when there has been no error in our publick con-
'duct. For to imagine that ſuch an inquiry, let
'it be ever ſo ſtrict and impartial, would pacify
'the clamours without doors, is, in my opinion,
'a very vain imagination. There are no clamours
'but among the diſaffected and diſcontented; as
'to the former, nothing will ever ſatisfy them,
'but the total overthrow of our preſent happy
'eſtabliſhment, which the nation has great reaſon
'to dread; and as to the latter, nothing will ever
'ſatisfy them, but the total overthrow of the
'preſent adminiſtration, which the nation, I
'think, has no reaſon to deſire.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, that from publick
'appearances we had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the ad-
'miniſtration of miſmanagement in the proſecution
'of the war, is this a proper time to enter into a
'parliamentary inquiry into that miſmanagement,
'or to call for the papers neceſſary for that purpoſe?
'To enter into ſuch an inquiry, and to have ſuch
'papers laid before this aſſembly, *pendente bello*,
'would certainly be attended with the moſt fatal
'conſequences: It would of courſe diſcover all
'our ſecrets to the enemy, and not only prevent
'our being able to attack them with advantage,
'but inſtruct them how to attack us in the moſt
'tender and defenceleſs part: It would not only
'lay open all the government's hidden channels

'for

'for ſecret intelligence, but would expoſe thoſe 'who had conveyed, or engaged to convey that 'intelligence, to certain and inevitable deſtruction; 'and this would be of infinite prejudice in all wars 'we may hereafter be engaged in; for no foreigner 'would ever engage in a ſecret correſpondence 'with any of our miniſters, leſt, by a parliamen-'tary inquiry, his having engaged in ſuch a cor-'reſpondence ſhould be diſcovered to his own 'court, and he expoſed not only to puniſhment, 'but to indelible infamy and reproach.

'My Lords, the dangers, the inconveniencies, 'the certain miſchiefs attending ſuch an inquiry, 'are obvious and innumerable; becauſe it is im-'poſſible to carry on the inquiry without having 'all the papers laid before us, that relate to the 'conduct of the war; and as it is impoſſible to 'keep papers ſecret, that are once laid before this 'houſe, therefore it ought to be laid down as a 'maxim, that, *pendente bello*, no inquiry into the 'management and proſecution of that war can be 'ſet on foot. This the noble Lord appears to 'have been ſenſible of, when he made his motion, 'and therefore he took care to conclude it with 'an exception, as to thoſe parts of orders or in-'ſtructions, which relate to any particular deſign, 'yet remaining to be executed. But do not your 'Lordſhips ſee, what an heap of confuſion you 'are going to call for? The inſtructions given to 'an admiral, employed againſt the enemy, at 'ſuch a diſtance as the *Weſt-Indies*, muſt relate to 'many particular affairs, and to ſeveral particular 'expeditions, ſome of which may have been ex-'ecuted, and others perhaps remaining to be 'executed; and theſe muſt be ſo intermixed, 'that if you were to have the parts relating to 'the former, without having at the ſame time 'communicated to you the parts relating to the 'latter, the whole would appear to be downright

'nonſenſe: It would be impoſſible for you to get 'from thence any ſuch information as could be 'depended on, or to form any judgment of the 'conduct of the war. Thoſe parts, therefore, 'that relate to deſigns already executed, can be 'of no ſervice to you, if they were communi-'cated, and by this very exception you admit, 'that thoſe parts which relate to deſigns yet re-'maining to be executed, ought not to be com-'municated.

'Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that the mo-'tion, as it ſtands at preſent, is inconſiſtent with 'itſelf, and therefore it muſt be inconſiſtent with 'your Lordſhips wiſdom to agree to it. But 'farther, my Lords, there may be articles in the 'admiral's inſtructions, which relate to no deſign 'that has been, or is to be executed, and yet they 'may be ſuch as ought not to be made publick. 'There may be articles relating to the places where, 'and the perſons to whom, or the methods by 'which he is to apply for ſecret intelligence; and 'theſe your Lordſhips will, I believe, admit, ought 'not to be made publick by being communicated 'to this houſe. In ſhort, I do not ſee how you 'can agree to this motion, unleſs you alter the 'exception, and conclude thus, Except ſuch 'parts of thoſe orders and inſtructions, which 'contain ſecrets that ought not to be divulged; 'and what uſe an addreſs for inſtructions, with 'ſuch an exception at the tail of it, can be of to 'your Lordſhips, I confeſs, I do not comprehend.

'From theſe reaſons, my Lords, I muſt be of 'opinion, that you cannot, conſiſtently with the 'publick ſafety, call for any of the inſtructions 'that have been given to Admiral *Vernon*; but as 'to the orders that have been given him, ſuch as 'ſailing orders, orders for repairs, or orders for 'victualling, and the like, moſt of them, I be-'lieve, may be communicated without danger,

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'and therefore your Lordſhips may addreſs for 'having them laid before you, if you think fit; 'for upon this occaſion I muſt obſerve, leſt ſome 'of your Lordſhips ſhould miſtake, that there is 'a very great difference between the orders and 'inſtructions given to an admiral: The former 'ſeldom contain any great ſecret, the latter gene-'rally do; and therefore the former have often 'been communicated to Parliament, but the latter 'have ſeldom or never been call'd for: At leaſt, 'I believe I may ſay, they have never been called 'for, till thoſe affairs were intirely over, to which 'they could be any way ſuppoſed to relate.

'Having now ſhewn, my Lords, that we have 'no reaſon for ſetting up a parliamentary inquiry 'into paſt meaſures, and that if we had, the pre-'ſent is not a proper time for it, I ſhall next ob-'ſerve, that ſuppoſing it were both proper and 'neceſſary for your Lordſhips to give your advice, 'with regard to our future conduct, I do not ſee 'how, for this purpoſe, it is neceſſary for you to 'ſee the inſtructions given to Admiral *Vernon* be-'fore the 24th of *June* laſt; for the poſture of 'affairs, both in *Europe* and the *Weſt-Indies*, is 'ſo much altered ſince that time, that thoſe in-'ſtructions can no way contribute towards your 'information, or towards your determining what 'advice you ought to give upon the poſture of 'affairs, as they ſtand at preſent. Therefore, as 'the papers now moved for, are no way neceſ-'ſary for this purpoſe, and as an inquiry into the 'management of the war, would be not only im-'proper but unſafe, as long as the war continues, 'we can at preſent have no occaſion for ſeeing 'theſe orders and inſtructions; and for this reaſon, 'I muſt be againſt the motion.'

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The next ſpeech we ſhall give, was that made by the Lord *Carteret*, which was in ſubſtance thus:

Lord *Carteret*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'We have, I think, almoſt every ſeſſion of 'Parliament ſome diſtinction ſtarted, where there 'is really no difference, and ſome new maxim in'troduced, which is inconſiſtent with the funda'mental maxims of our conſtitution. To lay it 'down as a maxim, that no parliamentary inquiry 'into any part of the management of a war, is 'to be ſet on foot, *pendente bello*, is to tell us, 'that with regard to the conducting of a war, 'where miſtakes are moſt dangerous and irrepara'ble, our Parliaments are quite uſeleſs. This 'maxim, indeed, is very much a-kin to another 'maxim I have often heard in this houſe, That 'you muſt not inquire into the conduct of a ne'gotiation, till the negotiation be concluded. Theſe 'two maxims, I think, if they were admitted, 'would effectually exclude our Parliaments from 'ever intermeddling in foreign affairs; at leaſt it 'would prevent our intermeddling, till the miſ'chief had become irreparable. In domeſtick af'fairs, which neither relate to war nor peace, you 'may intermeddle; you may rectify the blunders 'of your miniſter, you may prevent the miſchief 'before the remedy is out of your power: But in 'foreign affairs, you ſhall not inquire into a nego'tiation, till that negotiation ends in an infamous 'treaty, which your inquiry cannot ſet aſide; or in 'a heavy war, which might have been prevented 'by a well-conducted negotiation, and which 'your inquiry cannot put a ſtop to: You ſhall 'not inquire into the conduct of a war, till by the 'blunders of miniſters our fleets and armies are 'deſtroyed, and the nation obliged to ſubmit to a

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'diſhonourable peace, when your inquiry can 'neither reſtore your fleets and armies, nor pre-'vent the fatal conſequences of a diſhonourable 'peace.

'This, my Lords, is the true ſtate of the 'doctrines lately broached in Parliament; and 'from ſtating them in their true light the ridicu-'louſneſs of them muſt appear: I am ſure no in-'dependent Parliament will ever admit of them, 'and it is but very lately ſince they have been 'contradicted by the practice of Parliament. In 'the year 1694 we were engaged in a more dange-'rous war than the preſent; in that year the war 'was in its greateſt fury, yet this did not prevent 'the Parliament's inquiring into the conduct of 'the war. No miniſter then preſumed to tell 'them, that ſuch an inquiry was not to be ſet on 'foot, *pendente bello*; on the contrary, the in-'quiry was promoted both by the miniſters and by 'the admiral concerned: The former were con-'ſcious they had given ſuch orders and inſtructi-'ons as were right, and the latter was conſcious 'he had purſued his inſtructions to the utmoſt; 'therefore both joined heartily in promoting the 'inquiry, and in furniſhing the Parliament with 'every thing that could be thought neceſſary for 'that purpoſe, in order to remove the groundleſs 'clamours that had been raiſed againſt them. 'They did not pretend, that the laying of the 'admiral's orders or inſtructions before Parliament, 'would diſcover the ſecrets of our government 'to the enemy: They were both laid before Par-'liament; for whatever diſtinction may be made 'between orders and inſtructions, there is no real 'difference: An inſtruction muſt be as exactly ob-'ſerved, and as punctually purſued, as an order, 'and an order may contain ſecrets, as well as an 'inſtruction; and when an inquiry is ſet on foot, 'both muſt be laid before Parliament, for without

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'the inſtructions, as well as the orders, it would 'be impoſſible for the Parliament to proceed. If 'there be in either any ſecrets which ought not to 'be diſcovered, his Majeſty is to acquaint his 'Parliament with it, and upon that information 'which can be taken from none but his Majeſty, 'a ſecret committee is to be appointed, or the 'inquiry put off, till a more convenient ſeaſon.

'To tell us, my Lords, that we can aſk for 'nothing but ſailing, victualling, or repairing 'orders, is to tell us, we can do nothing but the 'drudgery-work of miniſters. Little contracts 'about victualling, or about naval ſtores, are not 'to be inquired into here: The other houſe may 'inquire into them; but moſt properly, it is the 'buſineſs of miniſters; for they are to take care, 'that all their little under agents do their duty: 'If they do not, it is our buſineſs to inquire into 'the conduct of the miniſters, and to puniſh them 'for their neglect. I hope ſome of our miniſters 'have been for vigorous meaſures; and they, I 'hope, will inquire, how all the vigorous mea-'ſures they had concerted, have been intirely diſ-'appointed, or very much retarded, by little 'under agents: It is their buſineſs to remove and 'puniſh thoſe under agents; and if they find they 'cannot do ſo, if they find thoſe under agents 'protected by a power, which they cannot en-'counter, it is their duty to call for the aſſiſtance 'of Parliament; for I hope there is no power in 'the kingdom, which a Parliament will not dare 'to encounter; I hope there is no power in the 'kingdom, which a Parliament may not be able 'to defeat.

'To me, my Lords, it is ſurpriſing to hear, 'that no Lord in this houſe can determine, whe-'ther or no a clamour be general: We cannot, 'perhaps, count noſes, and tell the exact number 'of thoſe that clamour, and of thoſe that do 'not;

'not; but ſurely we can tell when the conduct 'of publick affairs is found fault with, and ex-'claimed againſt by great numbers of men, who 'are governed neither by diſaffection nor diſap-'pointment. This is the caſe at preſent, and as 'generally ſo, I believe, as ever was known in 'this nation; I believe there is not a man in the 'kingdom, abſolutely independent, that will ſay, 'he is thoroughly ſatisfied with the management 'of the war: Even by placemen and officers it is 'exclaimed againſt, in all companies where they 'think they can ſpeak their mind with ſafety. 'The clamour is general over the whole nation, 'and no wonder it ſhould be ſo: The people 'have laſt year paid *four millions* towards a vigo-'rous proſecution of the war, and yet nothing 'done, but what has been done without any ex-'preſs orders from our miniſter. Is not this a 'good reaſon for complaint? Will not the people 'expect from us a reaſon, why their money has 'been thus thrown away, without any effect? 'And can we give them a reaſon, without the 'leaſt inquiry into the affair? In this ſeſſion of 'Parliament, we muſt again load the people with '*four millions* for next year: They will pay it 'willingly, if they find the Parliament as ready to 'cenſure as applaud; but they will pay it with 'regret, with murmuring, if they find, that 'thoſe who impoſe ſuch heavy taxes upon the 'publick, take no care of their being applied in 'the moſt proper and effectual manner to the 'publick ſervice.

'If we ſhould return to the country, my 'Lords, and tell the people, that our govern-'ment durſt not ſend our forces out to invade the 'enemy, for fear of their invading us, will not 'every man of common ſenſe laugh us to ſcorn? 'Does not every one know, that the beſt way to 'prevent an invaſion is to invade? Did not the

'*Romans*

'*Romans* ſend *Scipio* to invade the *Carthaginians* 'at the very time that *Hannibal* was in *Italy*, and 'almoſt at their gates? But the caſe with us is 'ſtill ſtronger; we could eaſily have invaded the 'enemy, when and where we pleaſed; whereas 'it was difficult and dangerous, if not impoſſible 'for them to invade us at any time, or in any 'place. To pretend, that we muſt always keep 'a mercenary army of 30,000 men in *Britain* 'and *Ireland*, for ſupporting our government 'againſt an invaſion with 4 or 5000, muſt be ri-'diculous, or it muſt be a very bad compliment 'to the Illuſtrious Family now upon our throne; 'becauſe it is ſuppoſing, that they have few or 'no friends in the nation, but thoſe they keep in 'daily pay. And to ſay, that a common ſoldier, 'who has no property, who has neither *ara* nor '*focus*, will fight againſt a foreign invader with 'more courage and reſolution, than thoſe that 'fight *pro aris & focis*, is, I am ſure, a very 'unjuſt reflection upon all the gentlemen, and all 'the men of ſubſtance in the kingdom.

'But, my Lords, we were, it ſeems, to guard 'againſt an invaſion from *France*, as well as '*Spain*; and for this reaſon we were obliged to 'keep our ſquadrons and our armies at home, in-'ſtead of ſending them out to invade our declared 'enemy. I am ſorry to hear, that an adminiſtra-'tion which has ſo long and ſo effectually ſerved 'the court of *France*, an adminiſtration which ſo 'lately joined with them in pulling down the 'overgrown power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, an 'adminiſtration which ſo lately left the Emperor 'to their mercy; I ſay, I am ſorry, that ſuch an 'adminiſtration ſhould have the leaſt cauſe to 'ſuſpect, that *France* would invade us, or that 'ſhe would join with *Spain* in ſuch an unjuſt war 'againſt us. But ſuppoſe, my Lords, our mi-'niſters have now at laſt found, that the gratitude

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'of *France* towards this nation is not to be de-
'pended on, which they have often been warned
'of: Suppoſe they had good reaſon to ſuſpect
'that *France* would invade us, if ſhe could find
'an opportunity; yet thoſe who knew what con-
'dition the navy of *France* was in, when the
'war broke out between *Spain* and us, and I
'hope it will not be ſaid that our miniſters were
'ignorant of it, could not be under the leaſt
'apprehenſion of an open and conſiderable
'invaſion from *France*; and if they had attempt-
'ed to invade us by ſtealth with four or five
'thouſand men, I hope the gentlemen of any
'county in *Britain*, with their tenants and ſer-
'vants, will always be able to give a good ac-
'count of ſuch a ſmall number of foreign inva-
'ders; for I ſhall not mention the militia, be-
'cauſe, as they are regulated and managed, they
'are ſo far from being troops, that they can
'ſcarcely be accounted men.

'I am therefore of opinion, my Lords, and
'I believe the greateſt part of the kingdom
'are of the ſame opinion, that we had no occa-
'ſion for above one half of the troops we had
'on foot at the beginning of the war, for pro-
'tecting us againſt any invaſion, either from
'*France* or *Spain*. We might therefore, at the
'very beginning of the war, have ſpared to ſend
'a much greater number of troops, and a more
'powerful ſquadron, than we had occaſion for,
'to the *Weſt-Indies*; and if we had any well-
'grounded ſuſpicion, that *France* would at laſt
'join with *Spain* againſt us, or attempt to limit
'the operations of his Majeſty's arms, it was ſo far
'from being a reaſon for keeping our troops or
'our ſquadrons at home, that it was a ſtrong ar-
'gument for ſending them out, in order to make
'a vigorous puſh, and to gain as much as we
'could from the *Spaniards*, before the *French*

'could come to their aſſiſtance, which we knew 'they could not do, till they had repaired and 'augmented their navy. This was what our 'miniſters ought to have done, unleſs they 'were reſolv'd, from the beginning, to carry 'on the war according to directions from the 'court of *France*, and to puſh it no farther 'than that court ſhould give them leave; which 'I am afraid, was the reſolution of ſome of 'them, tho', I am convinc'd, not of all; and 'this is, in my opinion, an unanſwerable argu-'ment for a parliamentary inquiry: It ought 'to be an argument with many of thoſe con-'cerned in the adminiſtration, that the guilty 'may be detected, and the innocent relieved 'from that load of reproach, which now lies in-'diſcriminately upon the whole.

'Therefore, my Lords, if it was the duty of 'our miniſters to have ſent a land force to the '*Weſt-Indies* at the very beginning of the war, 'and if they could have done ſo, without ex-'poſing the nation to any danger at home, 'they were guilty of miſconduct, long before 'they could plead contrary winds for an excuſe. 'Contrary winds are not to be found fault with, 'becauſe of him who is the author and director 'of winds. Thank God! they have been often 'in favour of this nation. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s 'time, they did us a ſignal favour; *Afflavit Deus, 'hoſteſque dilabuntur*, ſhe therefore took for a 'motto; and if they were againſt us laſt ſummer, 'it was perhaps a judgment, on account of our 'having ſo long neglected the means we had 'daily in our power: But I am far from 'thinking, that the winds were the ſole cauſe 'of our fleet's lying ſo long at the *Iſle of Wight*; 'this is a queſtion, which is now *ſub judice*, and 'is to be determined by this houſe upon an in-'quiry, when it will perhaps appear, that the

'winds

'winds were not the ſole cauſe of that fleet's de-
'laying to ſail, till his Majeſty came to put an
'end to all contradiction; but be this at it will,
'the delay was in ſome meaſure lucky for us:
'If it had ſailed two or three months ſooner, it
'would not have been ſo ſtrong; and in that
'caſe, the *Spaniſh* and *French* ſquadrons might,
'perhaps, have been able to deſtroy it in the
'*Weſt-Indies*; whereas both of them joined toge-
'ther are not now to be feared, eſpecially if
'it gets to the *Weſt-Indies* before Admiral *Vernon*
'meets with any misfortune, which, I think, he
'will be very much expoſed to, if the *French*
'have any deſign to join the *Spaniards* againſt
'us; and if he ſhould, I do not ſee how our
'miniſters will be able to excuſe their having
'had ſo bad intelligence, both of the *French*
'deſigns, and of the ſailing of their ſquadrons.

'My Lords, as I have mention'd Admiral
'*Vernon*, I muſt obſerve, that I am ſurpriſed to
'hear our miniſters aſſume to themſelves, by
'way of excuſe for their conduct, any thing that
'has been done by that Admiral in the *Weſt-*
'*Indies*. If we conſider the method in which
'they began the war, and the time that Admiral
'was ſent out, we cannot ſuppoſe, they gave
'him orders, or that they intended he ſhould
'attack any of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*.
'And if we conſider their opinion of the ſtrength
'of *Porto Bello*, and the ſmall force they fur-
'niſhed him with, we can far leſs ſuppoſe, they
'intended he ſhould attack that fortreſs: At leaſt
'if we make any ſuch ſuppoſition, we muſt add
'to it another, that they intended that both he
'and the ſhips they put under his command,
'ſhould be deſtroy'd. As our miniſters began
'hoſtilities by repriſals, and as Admiral *Vernon*
'was thereupon ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, we muſt
'ſuppoſe, that he had no orders or inſtructions

'for any thing but repriſals: Theſe, we may 'ſuppoſe, conſidering the temper of the man, 'were in the moſt ample terms, to ſeize all ſhips, 'veſſels, and goods belonging to the King of 'Spain, or his ſubjects, or others inhabiting within 'any of the territories of the King of *Spain*; and 'theſe the Admiral interpreted in the moſt ample 'manner, by concluding, that he might ſeize 'goods at land, as well as by ſea, and demoliſh 'every thing that oppoſed him.

'I could almoſt engage, my Lords, that his 'orders were in the words I have mentioned, or 'ſomething to that effect; and I have good rea-'ſon to believe, that he receiv'd no additional 'orders or inſtructions, till after his taking and 'demoliſhing the caſtle of *Chagra*; ſo that nei-'ther of Admiral *Vernon*'s expeditions is to be 'imputed to the conduct of our miniſters; for 'if he had not put a conſtruction upon his or-'ders, which few but himſelf would have done, 'we ſhould have heard no more of his exploits 'in the *American* ſeas, than we have heard of 'our other Admiral's exploits in the *Mediterra-'nean*: But he put that conſtruction upon his 'orders, which the honour and intereſt of his 'country required, tho' perhaps not that which 'ſome in the adminiſtration intended. In ſo do-'ing, he did right; his country has already ap-'proved of his conduct, and I truſt in God! 'his country will be able to protect him againſt 'all his enemies, be they *Spaniſh* or *Engliſh*.

'Thus I have ſhewn, my Lords, that from the 'method in which our miniſters began the war, 'and the time when Admiral *Vernon* was ſent 'out, we cannot ſuppoſe, that he had orders 'for attacking any of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in 'America; and as they had before publickly 'declared it as their opinion, that Admiral *Ho-'ſier* could not propoſe to attack *Porto Bello* with

'ſucceſs,

'ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſquadron 'he had under his command, we can from thence 'far leſs ſuppoſe, that they gave orders to, or 'intended, that Admiral *Vernon* ſhould attack 'that fortreſs, ſince they did not furniſh him 'with half the force. This, as I have ſaid, we 'cannot ſuppoſe, without adding another ſuppo-'ſition, which, I believe, no friend to our mini-'ſter will be fond of admitting. But Mr. *Vernon*, 'it ſeems, knew better than they; he knew that 'caſtles are a vain defence againſt ſhips of war: 'He then declared his opinion; and ſoon after 'his arrival in the *Weſt-Indies*, he confirmed his 'opinion by experiment: He attacked *Porto* '*Bello*; he carried it; and thereby he ſhewed the 'true ſpirit of his countrymen, their intrepidity 'in attacking, their moderation in victory, their 'diſintereſtedneſs in the uſe they make of it, and 'their honour in obſerving capitulation. In all 'theſe particulars their very enemies commend 'them; and this the *Spaniards* themſelves allow, 'was Mr. *Vernon*'s behaviour at *Porto Bello*.

'Let me now, my Lords, ſtate the caſe fairly 'and diſtinctly. It is allowed on all hands, that 'the proper method for diſtreſſing the enemy, 'or gaining a real advantage to this nation, is 'to take and hold ſome of their ſettlements in '*America*; therefore, the only proper orders that 'could be given to any commander in that part 'of the world, was to endeavour to take poſ-'ſeſſion of ſome of thoſe ſettlements; and for 'this purpoſe, he ought to be furniſhed with a 'proper force; but Admiral *Vernon* was not fur-'niſhed with a proper force. If he had carried 'but two battalions along with him, he would 'not have deſtroy'd, but would have kept poſ-'ſeſſion of the caſtles, both at *Porto Bello* and '*Chagra*. This would have been a real advan-'tage to this nation, and would have brought

'ſuch a diſtreſs upon *Spain*, as would, probably 'by this time, have forced them to a ſubmiſſion. 'From hence it is evident, that there muſt be a 'fault ſomewhere: If Mr. *Vernon* had no proper 'orders, they are guilty, who neglected to give 'him ſuch orders; if he had proper orders, they 'are guilty who neglected, for no leſs than 'eighteen months, to furniſh him with a proper 'force. After this, will any Lord ſay, that we 'have no reaſon to inquire into the management 'of the war? Will any one ſay, there is no 'ground for the clamours that are ſo loud and 'ſo general without doors?

'Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that you are 'not deſired to proceed to an inquiry into the 'conduct of the war, without a moſt ſolid, a 'moſt apparent reaſon; and if there be ſuch a 'reaſon, I am ſure, the ſooner we go about an 'inquiry, the better; for we may thereby pre-'vent moſt fatal miſchiefs, perhaps irrepair-'able ruin, that may be brought upon the nation 'by another year's miſmanagement of the pre-'ſent war, and by the miſmanagement of ano-'ther more dangerous war, which this nation 'may, in all probability, be engaged in, before 'we meet again in this houſe. The noble Lord 'who made you the motion, has taken all poſſi-'ble care to obviate the modern objection, rela-'ting to the danger of diſcovering ſecrets. He 'does not deſire to ſee what relates to deſigns, 'yet remaining to be executed. Surely if the 'whole of the inſtructions be not a heap of con-'fuſion, every diſtinct deſign muſt have a di-'ſtinct article, and therefore I cannot join with 'the noble Duke, in ſuppoſing they are ſo in-'termix'd that the one cannot be underſtood 'without the other. But a ſhort, and a full an-'ſwer to all ſuch objections is, that if his Ma-'jeſty ſhould by way of anſwer to our addreſs,

'inform

'inform us, that what we call for contains ſe-
'crets, which ought not to be diſcover'd, or that
'the articles relating to deſigns already executed,
'are ſo intermix'd with the articles relating to
'deſigns yet remaining to be executed, that the
'one cannot be underſtood without the other; I
'ſay, if his Majeſty ſhould by his anſwer give
'us ſuch an information, we muſt appoint a few
'of our number, as a ſecret committee, and de-
'ſire, that all ſuch inſtructions or papers may be
'laid before them; for there are many Lords in
'this houſe, who muſt be allowed to be as fit to
'be intruſted with the ſecrets of our government,
'as any miniſter employ'd by his Majeſty; and
'if we do appoint ſuch a committee, I hope we
'ſhall chuſe ſuch Lords, as have never been in-
'truſted with any ſecrets of the miniſter.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, that no inquiry into
'the conduct of paſt meaſures were at preſent
'neceſſary; ſuppoſe that the nation, as well as
'this houſe, were fully ſatisfied with the conduct
'of our miniſters; yet ſurely, if ever we exert
'our privilege of being the great hereditary
'council of the crown, we ought to exert it up-
'on this occaſion, an occaſion perhaps the moſt
'important that ever this nation ſaw. The af-
'fairs of *Europe* are at preſent in ſuch a tickliſh,
'ſuch an unhappy ſituation, that one wrong
'ſtep in the conduct of this nation may involve
'*Europe* in irrecoverable thraldom. Shall we
'then, at ſuch a critical and important conjunc-
'ture, for fear of diſobliging a miniſter, refuſe
'or neglect to make the proper uſe of our birth-
'right? Shall we, for fear of diſcovering the ſe-
'crets of government, delay doing our duty to
'our country and Sovereign, as if no Lord in
'this houſe were fit to be intruſted with the ſe-
'crets of his country, but ſuch as happen to be
'the favourites of the miniſter? Secrets, my

'Lords! I do not believe, the government has 'had any ſecrets this twenty years, that are of 'ſuch importance, as to make it of great ſig-'nification to the nation, whether they are diſ-'cover'd or no: The miniſter, indeed, may 'have many ſecrets of importance, but they 'are ſuch as ought to be diſcover'd, that the na-'tion may ſee how it has been govern'd, that his 'Majeſty may ſee how he has been ſerved. I 'hope, therefore, no fear, no pretence, ſhall 'prevent our making uſe of our birthright, and 'performing that duty we owe both to our King 'and country: I hope we ſhall upon this occa-'ſion give our moſt ſerious, our moſt ſincere ad-'vice to our Sovereign. Can we do this without 'being fully inform'd of the ſtate of our affairs 'both at home and abroad? Can we get this in-'formation any way, but by having all papers 'laid before us without reſerve, that relate to 'any important tranſaction our government has 'been of late years engaged in?

'The noble Duke has told us, that the po-'ſture of affairs is very much altered ſince *June* 'laſt. My Lords, I ſhall grant it; but the pre-'ſent unlucky poſture of affairs is owing to the 'poſture they were then in, and the unlucky po-'ſture they were then in was chiefly owing, I 'believe, to the ſhall I ſhall I conduct of our 'miniſters for ſeveral years before. If they had 'begun and proſecuted this war with vigour, it 'would have recovered the character of the na-'tion: It would have attached to us our ancient 'allies; and it would have prevented any power 'in *Europe* from daring to diſturb the tranquillity 'thereof. Therefore, before we can give any 'advice to our Sovereign, we muſt ſee the orders 'and inſtructions given to our Admiral in the '*Weſt-Indies*, becauſe if they appear to be ſuch 'as I ſuſpect they are, the firſt advice we ought

'to

'to give to our Sovereign muſt be, to remove 'from his councils thoſe that adviſed the giving 'of ſuch orders and inſtructions.

'My Lords, if this motion be agreed to, it 'will encourage Lords to move for other pa- 'pers, that may be neceſſary for our information 'upon this important occaſion. Even the pa- 'pers now moved for may ſhew us, that a tho- 'rough inquiry into our affairs is become neceſ- 'ſary, that for this purpoſe all papers muſt be 'laid before us without reſerve, and that there- 'fore we muſt name a ſecret committee for in- 'ſpecting thoſe papers, that contain or mention 'any affairs which ought not to be diſcover'd. 'But if this modeſt requeſt be diſagreed to, can 'any Lord expect ſucceſs in any motion of the 'ſame kind? And, I am ſure, without having 'the proper materials before us, we can neither 'inquire into the conduct of paſt meaſures, nor 'give any advice to our Sovereign, with regard 'to future meaſures; therefore, my Lords, upon 'this queſtion, inſignificant as it may appear to 'ſome, the fate of this nation, the fate of *Eu- 'rope*, muſt, in my opinion, depend. If it is 'agreed to, we ſhall be able to ſearch the ulcer 'to the bottom, and in that caſe we may find a 'remedy: But if it paſſes in the negative, I 'ſhall expect to ſee the liberties of *Europe*, and 'conſequently the liberties of this nation, over- 'turned, by the ſame ſort of conduct, by which 'they have been brought into their preſent dan- 'ger.'

The next that ſtood up was the Earl of *Ila*, whoſe ſpeech was to this effect:

'My Lords,

'I ſhall be extremely ready to agree to an in- 'quiry into any part of the conduct of paſt 'meaſures, as ſoon as a proper opportunity offers Earl of *Ila*'s ſpeech.

'for

'for that purpoſe; and I ſhall be ſo, I believe, 'for a reaſon very different from that by which 'ſome Lords are ſwayed. I ſhall be for it, be-'cauſe I am convinced, it will fully juſtify our 'preſent miniſters, and vindicate their conduct 'from all the aſperſions that have been ground-'leſly caſt upon any part of it ſo inquired into; 'but a general inquiry into the conduct of all 'paſt meaſures, eſpecially ſuch as juſt then hap-'pen to be upon the anvil, is unprecedented 'and dangerous for the publick ſafety, and 'therefore, I ſhall never, for what I know, agree 'to it. Your Lordſhips have often inquir'd in-'to the conduct of a particular affair, or into 'the conduct of a particular expedition; but I 'remember no example of your having ſet up 'a general inquiry into all the meaſures of an 'adminiſtration; and as little do I remember 'your having inquir'd into any publick mea-'ſure whilſt it was in agitation, or into the con-'duct of any particular expedition whilſt it was 'in the proſecution, and not fully compleated or 'laid aſide. When the war is concluded, I do 'not know but your Lordſhips may make a ge-'neral inquiry into the management of the war, 'from the beginning to the end; or even during 'the war, you may pick out any particular expe-'dition, when it is over, and no hopes of re-'ſuming it, and you may inquire how it was 'conducted, in order to find out the reaſon why 'it was not more fortunate; for when the event 'has proved as fortunate as could be expected, 'your Lordſhips can have no occaſion to inquire 'into it. But till the war is at an end, you can-'not ſafely, and therefore ought not to ſet up a 'general inquiry into the proſecution of it; nor 'can you ſafely, and therefore ought not to in-'quire into the conduct of any particular ex-'pedition, till it is quite laid aſide.

'This,

'This, my Lords, is what is meant by not ſetting up an inquiry, *pendente bello*, and the admitting of this as a rule for your conduct, can be attended with no miſchief to the nation, nor can it any way derogate from the privilege or uſefulneſs of this aſſembly; for if your Lordſhips ſhould at any time be of opinion, that a war has been imprudently conducted, you may, even during the war, pick out ſome part of it, ſome one expedition which is quite over, and which you think has been the worſt managed; you may inquire into that part of the war, and by that means you may remove the guilty from having any thing farther to do in the management of the war. Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that this maxim can be attended with no bad conſequence, and the reaſon for admitting it is plain; becauſe, by a general inquiry before the war is at an end, or by an inquiry into any particular expedition before it is quite laid aſide, you would diſcover ſuch ſecrets to the enemy as might prevent any future ſucceſs.

'That this would be the conſequence of the preſent motion, ſhould it be agreed to and comply'd with, is, I think, highly probable. It is certain, if the inſtructions and orders given to Admiral *Vernon* are ſuch as they ought to have been; what they are I do not know, for I never had occaſion to ſee any of them; but if they are ſuch as they ought, and ſuch as I hope they will appear to be, there muſt be many articles in them, which will make it very improper to lay them before this aſſembly. My Lords, to lay them before this houſe would be the ſame with publiſhing them; we may as well deſire they ſhould be ſent to the court of *Spain*, as deſire they ſhould be laid before us; for when we conſider how many ſtrangers are daily attending our debates, and how many perſons have free acceſs

'to

'to our table, we muſt conclude it impoſſible to 'keep any thing ſecret that is once laid before us. 'The exception which the noble Lord was pleaſed 'to add to his motion, is no ſalvo for this objec- 'tion; for there muſt be many things in the in- 'ſtructions, which do not relate to any expedi- 'tion yet remaining to be executed, and, never- 'theleſs, are ſuch as ought not to be publiſhed. 'In the time of a very prudent and vigorous, 'though unlawful government, we had a war 'with *Spain*. An Admiral with a ſtrong ſquadron 'was then ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, and in his in- 'ſtructions there was a particular deſcription of all 'the *Spaniſh* forts and ſettlements in that part of 'the world, with very proper and juſt remarks 'upon each: There was likewiſe an account of all 'the informations we had relating to them, and 'the places where, and perſons from whom, he 'might expect any advice or aſſiſtance. May we 'not from thence ſuppoſe, that the inſtructions 'given to Admiral *Vernon* are of the ſame nature? 'Suppoſe they contain an account of all the ſtrong 'and weak places in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and 'directions how each of them may with the great- 'eſt facility be attack'd: Suppoſe they contain an 'account of all the ſecret intelligence, our mini- 'ſters have had from that part of the world for 'many years paſt, and the perſons names who 'gave them that intelligence: Suppoſe they con- 'tain an account of the places where, and the 'perſons to whom, the Admiral might apply for 'future intelligence: Suppoſe they contain an ac- 'count of the moſt defenceleſs places in our own 'plantations, and the methods which the Admiral 'is to take for ſecuring them. Theſe ſuppoſitions, 'my Lords, are not imaginary: I do not make 'them *ad libitum:* I make them, becauſe 'tis 'highly probable they are true; and if they are, 'I am ſure it would not only be improper, but

'vaſtly imprudent, to publiſh theſe inſtructions, 'which will be the caſe if you agree to the ad-'dreſs propoſed, and his Majeſty complies with it; 'for ſuch inſtructions cannot be poſitively ſaid to relate to any expedition, yet remaining to be 'executed.

'But if your Lordſhips ſay, that ſuch articles of 'the inſtructions, as contain all or any of the par-'ticulars I have mentioned, muſt be ſuppoſed to 'relate to all expeditions, whether already executed, 'or yet remaining to be executed, and are therefore 'within the exception the noble Lord has been 'pleaſed to add to his motion: In this caſe, I ſhall 'grant, your addreſs can do no harm; but then I 'ſhall be againſt it, becauſe, from the arguments 'made uſe of in its favour, it muſt appear, that it 'can do no good, nor produce any effect; and I 'think it inconſiſtent with the wiſdom and dignity 'of this houſe to offer an addreſs to the crown, 'which can be of no ſervice to ourſelves or the 'publick. This, I ſay, my Lords, appears from 'what has been ſaid by the noble Lords, who 'have ſpoke in favour of the motion. They ſay, 'it is not poſſible to ſuppoſe Admiral *Vernon* had 'any orders or inſtructions to attack *Porto Bello*, 'or the caſtle of *Chagra*: Theſe are the only ex-'peditions, the only deſigns already executed: 'What then are you to addreſs for? For nothing. 'If the Admiral had no inſtructions for either of 'theſe purpoſes, all his inſtructions muſt ſome way 'relate to deſigns yet remaining to be executed; 'and conſequently you can expect nothing from 'his Majeſty in purſuance of your addreſs. Thus 'it appears, that you muſt either mean to addreſs 'for nothing, or for ſomething that is inconſiſtent 'with the publick ſafety; and in either caſe, it is 'what I cannot agree to.

'I have often heard it ſaid in our debates, that 'if Lords were in earneſt in their profeſſions, they

'would

'would agree to what was propoſed. My Lords, 'I hope I ſhall be excuſed, when I ſay, this is 'not parliamentary language. All ſides are ſup-'poſed to be in earneſt in every thing they pro-'feſs: Charity obliges us to believe, that every 'Lord is in earneſt in what he ſays, and decency 'obliges us to avoid inſinuating he is not. I 'know there have been examples of a contrary 'behaviour on both ſides; but whatever clamours 'there may be without doors, the regard we owe 'to the auguſt aſſembly of which we are mem-'bers, ſhould, upon all occaſions, make us bridle 'our tongues, and be extremely cautious of uſing 'any harſh expreſſions, or making ugly inſinua-'tions, with reſpect to one another: Whilſt we 'do this, we may be very eaſy about the clamours 'without doors; for it is a ſort of parliamentary 'art, that has been practiſed by all parties, to 'make motions in Parliament, which they know 'it is not poſſible for the oppoſite party to comply 'with, in order from thence to raiſe a groundleſs 'clamour without doors, that thoſe who refuſe to 'comply with ſuch motions, are not ſincere in 'what they profeſs.

'I have already made one profeſſion; I began, 'my Lords, with profeſſing, that I ſhall always 'be ready to agree to this houſe's inquiring into 'any part of the conduct of paſt meaſures, when 'a proper opportunity offers for that purpoſe. 'Whether or no I am in this believed to be ſin-'cere, is what I do not know; but I am myſelf 'conſcious that I am, and therefore I ſhall, with-'out ſcruple, to this add another profeſſion or 'declaration, which is, That I ſhall always be 'ready to approve of our exerting our birthright, 'in giving our moſt ſincere advice to the crown, 'with regard to future meaſures, provided it be 'done in a decent manner, and upon a proper 'occaſion. From a great authority we have learn-

'ed,

'ed, that in a multitude of counſellors there is 'ſafety; but it is equally true, that in a multitude 'of counſellors there is no ſecrecy: This may 'ſhew us, upon what occaſions it is proper for us 'to offer our advice to the crown. In affairs of a 'publick nature, where all the circumſtances may 'be communicated to us, without endangering 'the publick ſafety, and when the affairs are of 'great importance to the nation or the crown, it 'is very proper for us to take them into our con-'ſideration, and to offer our beſt advice to the 'crown: But in all affairs of a ſecret nature, 'where many circumſtances are ſuch, that they 'cannot be diſcovered to a numerous aſſembly, 'without endangering the publick ſafety, it is not 'proper for us to offer our advice, becauſe we 'cannot be fully informed: At leaſt we ought 'not, unleſs called upon by our Sovereign to do 'ſo, and then, if we do, it can only be upon 'publick and general appearances; therefore, even 'upon ſuch occaſions, when we offer any advice, 'it ought to be with great deference to our Sove-'reign's better information. For this reaſon, the 'wiſdom of our conſtitution has intruſted the 'care and conduct of peace and war ſolely to the 'crown, becauſe nothing relating to any treaty of 'peace ought to be publiſhed, till the treaty be 'finally concluded, and every thing relating to 'war ought to be reſolved on and conducted with 'the greateſt ſecrecy.

'I ſhall grant, my Lords, that the preſent oc-'caſion is extremely important: I ſhall grant, 'that a very wrong ſtep in our conduct may be 'fatal to the liberties of *Europe*, as well as our 'own; but I do not ſee how your Lordſhips can 'prevent it. The importance of the preſent oc-'caſion relates intirely to what the wiſdom of our 'conſtitution has intruſted ſolely to the crown: It 'relates intirely to the conducting the war we are

'now

'now engaged in, and the conducting ſuch negotiations, as may be neceſſary for preventing, or 'enabling us to carry on another. Can you, in 'either of theſe caſes, with any propriety, offer 'your advice? You cannot pretend to offer your 'advice, as to the conduct of the war we are now 'engaged in, without having every circumſtance 'relating to it laid before you; and this may occaſion, inſtead of preventing your ruin: You 'cannot pretend to offer your advice, as to the 'conduct of thoſe negotiations that may be neceſſary for preventing, or for enabling you to 'carry on another war, without having the preſent circumſtances of *Aſia*, as well as *Europe*, 'fully laid before you, with all the ſecret intelligence our government may be ſuppoſed to have 'relating thereto; and this would not, I am ſure, 'be a proper method to render any of your negotiations ſucceſsful. Therefore, I hope the noble 'Lords, who ſeem to be ſo fond of our offering 'our advice upon this occaſion, will excuſe me, 'if I think they are deſiring us to make a very 'wrong ſtep, for fear our miniſters ſhould make 'one; and this I ſhould be againſt, had I a much 'worſe opinion of our miniſters than I have.

'In ſhort, my Lords, though I have a very 'great opinion of the wiſdom of thoſe, who at 'preſent happen to be the conſtituent members of 'this aſſembly, yet I am for truſting more to the 'wiſdom of our conſtitution, than to theirs. Our 'miniſters will for their own ſafety take the beſt 'methods they can think of, both for conducting 'the war, and for conducting our negotiations; 'and if their own wiſdom ſhould fail them, I 'hope Providence will direct them to take the 'moſt proper methods for bringing the war to a 'happy and ſpeedy concluſion, and for preſerving 'and eſtabliſhing the liberties of *Europe*.'

The

The Earl of *Cheſterfield* ſtood up next, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.*

'My Lords,

'Though charity obliges us to believe, that all 'men are ſincere, till the contrary evidently ap- 'pears, and though decency often obliges us to 'avoid telling them they are not ſo, yet one can- 'not help a ſuſpicion ariſing in one's breaſt, when 'we find Lords profeſſing their readineſs to join 'in an inquiry, or in exerting our birthright of 'being the great counſellors of the crown, and 'yet upon all occaſions oppoſing it, and in ſup- 'port of their oppoſition offering ſuch arguments, 'as, if they were admitted, would render it im- 'poſſible for this houſe ever to inquire into the 'conduct of paſt meaſures, or to offer any advice 'in relation to future. The noble Lord ſays, we 'ought never to offer our advice in affairs relating 'to peace or war, that is to ſay, in any foreign 'affairs whatſoever, unleſs called upon by the 'King to do ſo. My Lords, I know nothing 'elſe we can have occaſion to offer our advice in, 'unleſs it be, whether the King ſhall go to the 'play or the opera, whether he ſhall ſhew mercy 'to a thief, or order him to be hanged, or ſome- 'thing of equal importance; for in all domeſtick 'affairs of any great importance, our King, thank 'God! is limited by the laws, and ought not to 'tranſgreſs them, even though this houſe ſhould 'adviſe him to do ſo. And as to our being called 'upon, we know from experience, that though 'this houſe be the hereditary great council of the 'crown, yet our advice is very ſeldom aſked in a 'ſerious manner. Kings, my Lords, are general- 'ly for conſulting with ſuch as are of their own 'chuſing; and theſe are often ſuch as have no 'dignity, privilege or right by their birth. We

Earl of *Cheſterfield's* ſpeech.

'know, the greateſt Empire that ever was on 'earth, was once governed by the ſole advice of 'a freed ſlave; and one of the greateſt Empires 'now in being is generally governed by the advice 'of a cabinet council of Eunuchs, and ſuch as 'they ſhall chuſe for their privy council; there-'fore, if we never offer our advice, but when it 'is ſeriouſly aſked by the crown, I am afraid we 'ſhall very ſeldom exert that privilege, which is 'our birthright.

'How this houſe has of late years come to be 'ſo much ſuſpected of blabbing, I do not know; 'but it is a very new doctrine, to ſay, that no-'thing can be communicated to this houſe, with-'out making it publick. The very firſt inſtance 'of our being refuſed any paper we thought ne-'ceſſary for our information, for fear it ſhould be 'thereby made publick, was in the year 1721. 'Since that time, indeed, it has been commonly 'and frequently practiſed; and yet, whatever ſe-'crets our miniſters may have had ſince that time, 'I do not think the nation had ever fewer in any 'equal period of time. This new doctrine there-'fore is not of above twenty years ſtanding; and 'as I diſapprove of many of the new political 'doctrines ſtarted in that period, ſo I likewiſe diſ-'approve of this. I do not think it can be ap-'proved of by any Lord who conſiders, that we 'can, whenever we pleaſe, ſhut every ſtranger out 'of the houſe: We may even ſhut out our clerks, 'or we may name a ſecret committee of a very 'few members. This, I ſay, we can do; but we 'have no occaſion to do ſo, till his Majeſty tells 'us that the papers he is to lay before us require 'it.

'I muſt therefore lay it down as a maxim, 'That we not only may, but that we ſometimes 'ought to offer our advice in affairs of peace and 'war, or in affairs of the moſt ſecret nature; and

'that,

'that, in order thereto, we may and ought to call 'for all papers that are neceſſary for our informa- 'tion. I ſay, my Lords, we not only may, but 'ſometimes ought to offer our advice; and our 'duty in this reſpect is to be determined by the 'notion we have of the miniſter's conduct, and 'by the general appearance of things. It is ob- 'ſerved, that every author has a particular ſtile or 'ſpirit in writing; ſo, I believe, every adminiſtra- 'tion, or every miniſter has a particular ſtile or 'ſpirit in his conduct: If we judge of the ſtile or 'ſpirit of our preſent miniſter's conduct from what 'is paſt, which is the only way we can judge, we 'muſt conclude, it is a blundering ſtile, it is an 'evil ſpirit. Can we expect, that he who gave 'Admiral *Hoſier* orders to perſuade the enemy's 'ſhips to ſurrender, and to lie with his ſquadron, 'till it rotted, before a ſea-port which Mr. *Vernon* 'has taken with a fourth part of the force; I ſay, 'can we expect, that he will give proper orders 'to any Admiral? Can we expect, that he who in '1727 allowed *Spain* to carry on a war for two 'years againſt us, without ſo much as attempting 'to give them one blow, will carry on the preſent 'war with vigour? Can we expect, that he who 'conducted our tedious negotiations with *Spain* to 'the late moſt honourable convention, will con- 'duct any negotiation to a happy and honourable 'concluſion?

'The noble Lord told us, that we have no 'occaſion to inquire into the conduct of an expe- 'dition, when it has met with all the ſucceſs that 'could be expected: I ſay the ſame of our foreign 'affairs in general. When the ſky all around ap- 'pears to be ſerene: When no cloud ſeems to be 'hanging over us, we have no occaſion to inter- 'poſe by our inquiry and advice; but when the 'ſky is overcaſt, when clouds appear ready to 'overwhelm us in a deluge, it is then the duty of

'this houſe to interpoſe, we ought then to inquire 'into the conduct of paſt meaſures, in order to 'give his Majeſty our advice about future.

'Thus, my Lords, if we conſider the paſt 'conduct of our miniſter, if we conſider the 'preſent appearance of things, we muſt con-'clude, that at this time it is our duty to inter-'poſe with our advice, and for that purpoſe to 'make a thorough inquiry into paſt meaſures, 'and into the preſent ſtate of our affairs. Shall 'we truſt the management of a war, which 'ought to be proſecuted in the moſt vigorous 'manner, to the advice of a miniſter, who, from 'the whole tenor of his conduct, appears to be 'puſillanimous and irreſolute? In the dangerous 'ſtate in which the affairs of *Europe* are at pre-'ſent involved, ſhall we truſt the extricating of 'them to the advice of the very man, who, for 'what we know, nay in all appearance, has been 'the chief cauſe of their being ſo involved?

'Having thus, my Lords, ſhewn, that we 'not only may, but ſometimes ought to offer 'our advice to the crown, even with reſpect to 'foreign affairs, or the affairs of peace and war, 'and as a thorough inquiry is neceſſary for en-'abling us to give proper advice; therefore it 'is evident, not only that we may at any time, 'but that we ſometimes ought to inquire into 'the conduct of ſuch affairs. But ſuppoſe we 'were not upon this occaſion to offer any advice 'to the crown, yet a general inquiry into the 'conduct of paſt meaſures may be neceſſary, 'in order to puniſh or remove a miniſter, who, 'we think, has given weak or wicked advice to 'our Sovereign. Upon this ſubject, the noble 'Lord who ſpoke laſt ſeemed to admit, that we 'may inquire into the conduct even of affairs 'relating to peace and war; but then ſays he, 'you muſt not make a general inquiry into the

'conduct of a war till it be concluded, nor into 'the conduct of any particular expedition, if 'there be any hopes of its being reſumed, which 'he ſays, is the true meaning of the maxim, that, '*pendente bello*, no inquiry is to be made into the 'management of a war. I have already ſhewn, 'that the foundation of this maxim is falſe, be-'cauſe an affair may be inquired into by this 'houſe, without the leaſt danger of diſcovering 'to the enemy any ſecrets relating to it. But I 'muſt beg leave to examine this maxim, as the 'noble Lord has explained it, a little farther.

'Your Lordſhips muſt allow, that it is our duty 'in this houſe to prevent a miſchief when appre-'hended, as well as to puniſh the authors when 'it has been brought upon us: It is our duty to 'prevent the miſmanagement of a war, as well 'as to puniſh thoſe who have miſmanaged it. 'If incendiaries were ſetting fire to a houſe, it 'would be very ridiculous in the proprietor to 'ſit ſtill, and allow them to do ſo, in hopes of 'being able to apprehend and puniſh them after 'they have burnt his houſe down about his ears. 'Would not this be the very caſe, if it were to 'be admitted as a maxim, that for fear of diſ-'covering the ſecrets of our government to the 'enemy, this houſe muſt never inquire into the 'conduct of a war till it is concluded, that is to 'ſay, till by miſconduct and bad ſucceſs, we are 'obliged to ſubmit to a diſhonourable peace? 'Suppoſe the perſons chiefly employed in con-'ducting the war were traitors: Suppoſe they 'themſelves diſcovered all the ſecrets of our go-'vernment to the enemy; would it not be ridi-'culous in this houſe, to ſuſpend our inquiry for 'fear of diſcovering ſecrets, we had good reaſon 'to believe to be already diſcovered?

'The noble Lord was ſenſible of theſe ridicu-'lous conſequences from his maxim, and therefore

'he thought of an expedient: He told us, we 'might inquire into ſome particular expedition 'that had miſcarried, and from thence find 'means to remove thoſe that had been guilty of 'miſconduct. But his expedient will, upon ex-'amination, be found, like all our modern expe-'dients, good for nothing. Suppoſe the miſcon-'duct is in not proſecuting the war with vigour: 'Suppoſe no one expedition has ever been under-'taken, which is the preſent caſe, how will you 'remove the guilty by inquiring into the conduct 'of ſome particular expedition: Suppoſe the miſ-'carriage of an expedition was not owing to thoſe 'employed in carrying it on, but to the treachery 'of thoſe that contrived and adviſed it, how 'will you diſcover or remove the guilty by in-'quiring into the conduct of that particular ex-'pedition? My Lords, the expedient is equally 'abſurd with the maxim. By an inquiry into 'the conduct of any particular expedition, the 'miſconduct of under agents and officers may be 'detected and puniſhed, which is not the buſi-'neſs of this houſe; but the miſbehaviour or 'treachery of chief miniſters, who are the only 'proper objects of our reſentment, can never be 'come at, or they thereby removed from having 'any thing farther to do in conducting the war. 'This can only be done by a general inquiry, 'which therefore ought to be ſet on foot, or 'ſome ſteps made towards it, as ſoon as there 'ariſes the leaſt ſuſpicion of any miſconduct.

'This, my Lords, is the preſent caſe. There 'is a ſuſpicion that Admiral *Vernon* had no pro-'per orders. I think it is evident, either that he 'had no proper orders, or that he was not pro-'vided with a proper force; and therefore, I 'think, that in one or other of theſe caſes a par-'liamentary cenſure muſt enſue. But before we 'can proceed, we muſt have a parliamentary

'know-

'knowledge, which of these cases we are to apply it to. If he had proper orders, our censure must be applied to his not being provided with a proper force. If he had no proper orders: If he had, as I suspect, no orders, but only a general order for reprisals, and to protect our own trade in that part of the world, we can pass no censure upon his not being provided with a proper force, because he had sufficient for that purpose. But then, I think, we ought to pass a censure upon his being sent out with such puny orders, against an enemy that merited our highest resentment.

'From hence your Lordships must see, how necessary it is to have his orders and instructions before us, because without them we can have no parliamentary knowledge how to apply our censure, and consequently can pass no censure, tho' every one of your Lordships were convinced that we ought. If Mr. *Vernon*'s orders are all right, and such as they ought to be, I shall most heartily condole with our ministers in case your Lordships should put a negative upon this motion. But if your Lordships do put a negative upon it, and I find the friends of our minister concurring in that negative, I shall hugely suspect, all is not right; for if I were to purchase an estate, and the seller should tell me, he had a very good title, but for certain reasons could not shew it me, I am sure, I should not believe a word he said, and much less pay him the purchase money.

'The noble Lord said, he could not agree to this motion, because, from the arguments made use of in its favour, it appeared we were to address for nothing: I shall grant, that if Mr. *Vernon* had no orders to attack *Porto Bello* or *Chagra*, his Majesty can lay nothing before us in pursuance of this address; but it is this

'very nothing we addreſs for. If his Majeſty 'returns for anſwer, that no part of Mr. *Vernon*'s 'inſtructions relates to any expedition already 'executed, we ſhall then have a parliamentary 'knowledge, that he had no orders for attacking '*Porto Bello* or *Chagra*; and if he had not, I 'will averr, he had no proper orders; therefore 'this addreſs may have a very good effect for 'the publick ſervice, tho' his Majeſty ſhould lay 'nothing before us in purſuance of it.

'The fortreſſes of *Porto Bello* and *Chagra*, my 'Lords, lay ſo open to our attacks, and it was 'ſo neceſſary for us to poſſeſs or demoliſh them, 'in order to open a trade with the *Spaniſh* ſettle-'ments, that it was a moſt flagrant piece of 'miſconduct, if Mr. *Vernon* had no order to 'attack them: It was, I think, a moſt flagrant 'piece of miſconduct, not to ſend him out with 'a proper force for taking and holding them, at 'leaſt during the war. But this, we are told, 'would have brought the *French* againſt us, who 'have taken the alarm upon hearing only, that 'we were preparing to ſend a land force to the '*Weſt-Indies*, and have therefore ſent their ſqua-'drons thither, to prevent our deſigns: If they 'have ſent their ſquadrons thither with this de-'ſign, they can do no more; and as theſe ſqua-'drons will not, I believe, be able to prevent 'our deſigns, if vigorouſly executed, I hope we 'ſhall proceed. But I do not believe, the *French* 'intended to attack us, or to join openly with 'the *Spaniards* againſt us; I believe, they ſent 'their ſquadrons thither, only to frighten us: 'They know from experience this may be done. 'We have for theſe twenty years generally begun 'with a ſort of bullying, that is, with putting 'ourſelves to the expence of fitting out our ſqua-'drons, and augmenting our armies; but when 'we found that would not do, we have always

'grown

'grown as tame as chickens, and have allowed 'ourſelves to be bullied out of, and into, every 'thing our enemies pleaſed to inſiſt on.

'No menaces from *France* can, therefore, be 'an excuſe; and as I ſuſpect, that ſuch menaces 'were a reaſon with our miniſter, for not fur-'niſhing Mr. *Vernon* with proper orders, I am 'the more curious to ſee them; but the noble 'Lord who ſpoke laſt, has furniſhed me with a 'new argument, and ſuch a one as I neither did, 'nor could before think of, for having theſe 'orders laid before this houſe. He ſays, he 'never ſaw them: This, my Lords, is very ſur-'priſing: As the noble Lord has ſaid ſo, it muſt 'be true; and as he is not only one of his Ma-'jeſty's privy council, but alſo, I believe, one 'of his cabinet council, and without derogation 'I may ſay, as able a ſtateſman as any Lord in 'either, it is to me a proof, that Mr. *Vernon*'s 'inſtructions were never under the conſideration 'of his Majeſty's privy or cabinet council, and 'therefore, I think, they ought now to be taken 'into the conſideration of this houſe, which is 'his Majeſty's great council: Nay, we ought to 'conſider this very point, why they were not 'laid before his Majeſty's cabinet council. The 'noble Lord ſaid, that in the multitude of coun-'ſellors there is no ſecrecy. It ſeems, there is 'ſome one of great influence about his Majeſty, 'who is of the ſame opinion, and therefore he 'took care, that no one ſhould ſee theſe inſtruc-'tions but himſelf. This convinces me, they 'were not right, for if they had, I can ſee no 'reaſon for ſo much ſecrecy; and therefore, I 'think, we ought to addreſs for them, that they 'may be altered or amended, for I doubt if this 'can be done in any other of his Majeſty's 'councils.

'If there are no ſecrets in theſe inſtructions, 'my Lords, but thoſe of the nation, no harm 'could enſue from having the whole laid before 'us, becauſe if they ought to be kept very ſe- 'cret, we could treat them accordingly. It is 'eaſy to make ſuppoſitions about what may be 'in them, but it is as eaſy to make ſuppoſitions 'of what may not be in them: I could make 'ſuppoſitions of this kind, which, from the ſtile 'and ſpirit of our miniſter's conduct, are more 'probable than thoſe the noble Lord has been 'pleaſed to make; and his Lordſhip has owned 'his being in the ſame caſe with me: Neither 'of us can aſſert. If then no harm could enſue, 'at leaſt to the nation, from having the whole 'laid before us, ſurely no danger is to be appre- 'hended from having laid before us the nothing, 'or the ſomething, now propoſed to be addreſſed 'for. But, my Lords, according to the mo- 'dern way of arguing upon all occaſions, when 'papers are propoſed to be addreſſed for, and 'with regret I muſt confeſs, according to the 'late behaviour of this houſe, we never can in- 'quire into the conduct of a miniſter, till after 'his being diſmiſſed the ſervice of the crown: 'When he has loſt that favour, upon which his 'influence depends, and is given up by the 'crown to be buffeted by the Parliament, we 'may then, and not till then, have ſuch papers 'laid before us, as are neceſſary for inquiring 'into his conduct. This, I ſay, ſeems to be the 'reſult of thoſe arguments that have for ſome 'time prevailed in this houſe; but I hope it will 'never become an eſtabliſhed maxim, for if it 'ſhould, the Parliament will then be made uſe 'of, not to buffet thoſe that deſerve it, but to 'buffet every man that happens to be ſo unfor- 'tunate, as to fall under the reſentment of the 'chief favourite of the crown for the time being;

'which,

'which, in my opinion, would be a moſt terri-
'ble ſtate of things; and as our agreeing to this
'motion, will be one ſtep towards preventing it,
'therefore I ſhall moſt heartily concur with my
'noble friend in the motion he has made you.'

The next that ſpoke was the Lord *Harvey*, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus:

'My Lords,

'In this debate, as well as a great many others Lord *Harvey*'s ſpeech.
'of the ſame nature, I find the opinion of the
'populace without doors is very much inſiſted
'on, as if this houſe were obliged to inquire,
'and to cenſure, as often as the giddy multitude
'takes it into their heads, that the adminiſtration
'have been deficient in their duty, or miſtaken
'in their politicks. If this were the caſe, no
'miniſter could ever be eaſy, nor could any one
'ſeſſion paſs over without an inquiry and cen-
'ſure: Every ſeſſion would produce a new ad-
'miniſtration, and every year would give the
'populace the diverſion of ſeeing a ſacrifice
'made of ſome of the miniſters or magiſtrates
'of the preceding, till at laſt, we ſhould have
'neither miniſter nor magiſtrate in the kingdom;
'for what man of common ſenſe would accept
'of a poſt in our government, if he were cer-
'tain, that before the end of the year he would
'be ſacrificed to the reſentment of thoſe, whom
'by the duty of his office he muſt diſoblige?
'We ſhould at this rate have nothing but anar-
'chy and confuſion amongſt us; and therefore
'your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that the opinions, the
'ſuſpicions, or the clamours of the people with-
'out doors, can be no rule for your conduct in
'this houſe. In all your deliberations here, you
'are to conſider what juſtice requires, and what
'may be moſt for the publick good, without

'regard

'regard to what may be moſt agreeable to the 'people without doors. If you do this, you 'may contemn what is ſaid againſt you, and 'deſpiſe thoſe reproaches, which can have no 'foundation, but the ignorance or malice of the 'revilers.

'For this reaſon, my Lords, I ſhall give my-'ſelf very little trouble about what may be 'thought of this queſtion without doors, and as 'little ſhall I give myſelf any trouble about in-'quiring, whether it be intended as a previous 'ſtep towards our giving his Majeſty advice with 'regard to future meaſures, or towards our in-'quiring into the conduct of paſt meaſures; be-'cauſe, whatever may be thought of it without 'doors, whatever may be intended by it within 'doors, I think our agreeing to it would be in-'conſiſtent with the publick good. For proof 'of this I have already, in this debate, heard 'many ſtrong arguments advanc'd, none of which 'have as yet been anſwered: I think them un-'anſwerable. That the laying of ſuch papers 'before us would diſcover the ſecrets of our go-'vernment to our enemies; nay, that it might 'probably make enemies of thoſe, who are now 'our friends, is, I think, evident to a demon-'ſtration. I know, my Lords, it is not very 'complaiſant to ſay, that nothing can be kept 'ſecret that is once laid before this aſſembly; 'but I would not flatter even this aſſembly at 'the expence of my country; and as I ſhall 'always chuſe rather to be ſincere than complai-'ſant, I muſt join with other noble Lords in 'ſaying, that no ſuch thing can, in my opinion, 'be expected: Even the noble Lords who have 'ſpoke in favour of the motion, ſeem to join in 'this opinion; and therefore have told us, that in 'caſe his Majeſty, in his anſwer to our addreſs, 'ſhould ſay, that thoſe papers contain ſecrets

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'which ought not to be diſcovered, we may then 'appoint a ſecret committee for inſpecting the 'papers, and for reporting ſuch parts of them, 'as may be ſafely communicated, with their 'opinion upon the whole, to the houſe.

'This, I know, my Lords, we may do; but 'upon ſuch a report how can we proceed? We 'muſt either put an implicit faith in the report 'of the Lords committees, or we can proceed 'no farther. If upon ſuch a report we ſhould 'proceed to offer any advice to his Majeſty, can 'any Lord concur in offering that advice, with-'out ſeeing all thoſe papers, and knowing all 'thoſe facts upon which it is founded? Without 'this knowledge, can he determine whether the 'advice be right or wrong? And will any of 'your Lordſhips allow your name to be made 'uſe of for giving weight to an advice, which, 'for what you know, may be the worſt that was 'ever given? Suppoſe, that upon ſuch a report 'we ſhould proceed to cenſure, would any Lord 'be ſo unjuſt, as to join in cenſuring a miniſter's 'conduct, without knowing any of the facts 'upon which that cenſure was founded? The 'Lords committees might ſay ſomething in their 'own vindication; they might ſay, they had 'diſcover'd in thoſe papers ſuch facts, as gave a 'ſufficient ground for cenſure; but what could 'any other Lord of this houſe ſay? They could 'ſay nothing but this: The Lords committees 'thought the cenſure juſt, and therefore I be-'lieved it was ſo; which may be a Roman Ca-'tholick, but is not, I am certain, a Proteſtant 'ſort of belief; and I am as certain, that it 'would no way redound to the honour of the 'Lord who ſaid ſo, or to the character of this 'houſe in general.

'Suppoſe again, my Lords, that upon ſuch a 'report we were to proceed to a ſentence of juſti-

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'fication or approbation: Even this I ſhould not 'chuſe to agree to, without having very ſtrictly 'examined into that conduct, which I am thus 'expreſsly to juſtify; but if the majority of this 'houſe ſhould place ſo much faith in the Lords 'committees, as to join in this ſentence of juſtifi-'cation, would this give any ſatisfaction to the 'people without doors, or would it any way con-'tribute to allay thoſe clamours, which are now 'ſaid to be ſo general againſt the conduct of the 'adminiſtration? My Lords, the miniſters know 'it would not, and therefore I am not at all ſur-'priz'd at their being againſt what muſt give your 'Lordſhips a great deal of trouble, and can do 'them no ſervice. They are conſcious, I believe, 'that the clamours againſt them are without any 'real foundation, and therefore they deſpiſe them: 'Such clamours, they know, will ſubſide of 'themſelves, or will by the courſe of things be 'turned to the confuſion of thoſe that raiſe them; 'and for this reaſon, they do not deſire your 'Lordſhips ſhould give yourſelves any trouble a-'bout them. Should your Lordſhips upon an 'inquiry be never ſo fully convinced of the wiſ-'dom, as well as uprightneſs of our miniſters, 'yet your acquittal could no way ſtop the mouths 'of thoſe that clamour without reaſon, nor could 'it give any ſatisfaction to the nation; becauſe that 'acquittal would, probably, be founded on facts, 'which the publick ſafety would not permit to be 'made publick. Therefore, without communi-'cating to the whole houſe, and conſequently, I 'think, to the whole world, all the papers that 'are laid before you, it is, in my opinion, im-'poſſible for you to proceed, either to adviſe, 'cenſure, or juſtify; and as this, with regard to the 'papers now moved for, would be abſolutely in-'conſiſtent with the publick ſafety, I cannot agree 'to your preſenting ſuch an addreſs as is now pro-

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'poſed; becauſe I ſhall never be for this houſe's 'deſiring any thing of their Sovereign, which, I 'think, he cannot grant without injuring the ho-'nour of the crown, or endangering the ſafety of 'the nation.

'That this may be the caſe, is evident, I think, 'from the very nature of the papers now propoſed 'to be called for. If the noble Lord had been 'pleaſed to confine his motion to the orders given 'to Admiral *Vernon*, conſidering the many mo-'tions of the ſame kind we have of late years had 'before this houſe, I ſhould not have been much 'ſurprized at it; but to deſire, that his Majeſty 'ſhould lay before this houſe likewiſe the inſtruc-'tions given to that Admiral, is ſomething I think 'very extraordinary; for though a noble Lord, 'who diſtinguiſhes well and properly in other 'caſes, has in this debate confounded orders and 'inſtructions, yet there is certainly a very great 'difference. The orders given to our Admirals 'are always ſigned by the Lord High Admiral, 'or the Commiſſioners appointed to execute that 'high office; but the inſtructions, or ſome of 'them, may be ſuch as are ſigned by his Majeſty 'alone; from whence it is evident, that they may 'contain ſecrets which are known to none but the 'King, and which he is in honour obliged not to 'communicate to any, but thoſe that are to make 'the proper uſe of them. I know, my Lords, 'that ſuppoſitions of any kind may be made, but 'there are many degrees in the reaſonableneſs or 'probability of ſuppoſitions, and when they are 'made, we are to judge whether they are reaſon-'able or no. In the preſent caſe, I ſhall for ex-'ample ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty has a ſecret cor-'reſpondence with ſome of the grandees or conſi-'derable perſons in *New Spain*, and that he is 'upon honour engaged not to communicate the 'ſecret to any, but the Admiral he ſends into that

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'part of the world: This, I ſhall grant, is a mere 'ſuppoſition; but it cannot be ſaid to be abſolute-'ly unreaſonable, if we conſider how much the 'people of that country are diſſatisfied with their 'government, and what a real advantage it would 'be for them to be freed from the yoke of *Spain*.

'Now, my Lords, if his Majeſty has, or ever 'had ſuch a ſecret correſpondence, he muſt have 'communicated it to Admiral *Vernon* by means of 'an inſtruction ſigned by himſelf alone; how in-'conſiſtent then would it be with the honour of 'the crown, and the intereſt of the nation, eſpe-'cially with regard to our ſucceſs in the preſent 'war, to have ſuch an inſtruction laid before this 'aſſembly? The inſtruction may relate to a deſign 'already executed, and yet the perſons that carri-'ed on this correſpondence may ſtill be in the 'power of the enemy: Their being apprehended 'and executed would be the certain and immedi-'ate conſequence of a diſcovery; and after ſuch a 'diſcovery, could this nation ever expect to have 'any correſpondence with, or any intelligence 'from an enemy's country?

'Such conſiderations as theſe, my Lords, muſt 'ſhew us, that, let the conſequence be what it 'will, we can never deſire all papers to be laid 'before us, that relate to any foreign affair then 'in agitation, and yet this needs not hinder us 'from giving a general advice to his Majeſty, when 'we think it neceſſary; nor can it hinder us from 'cenſuring the conduct of a miniſter, if from cir-'cumſtances publickly known, he ſhould appear 'to deſerve it, or if by chance any facts ſhould 'come to light, that might afford reaſon for that 'cenſure. Laſt ſeſſion we joined with the other 'houſe in giving a general advice to his Majeſty 'relating to future meaſures, without making a 'particular inquiry into any of thoſe that were 'paſt: I did not then, I do not yet indeed think

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'it was neceſſary for us to offer any ſuch advice; 'but I concurred with other Lords in agreeing to 'the requeſt of the Commons, becauſe I thought 'it was a good advice, and I hope our ſucceſs in 'the war ſhall be ſuch, as may enable his Majeſty 'to follow that advice. In the ſame manner we 'may, upon any other occaſion, make uſe of our 'privilege of being the hereditary great council 'of the crown, when, from the circumſtances 'that are publickly known, we can determine 'what advice we ought to give; but in order 'thereto, we muſt not pretend to dive into the 'ſecrets of government, becauſe it is inconſiſtent 'with the ſafety of the publick, to lay them be-'fore ſuch a numerous aſſembly.

'This, my Lords, I take to be the right doc-'trine with regard to advice; and with regard to 'cenſure, if from the general ſtate of things, or 'from circumſtances publickly known, the con-'duct of a miniſter ſhould appear to be wrong, 'your Lordſhips could certainly both cenſure and 'puniſh him, without any particular inquiry into 'the whole tenor of his conduct: Or if any of your 'Lordſhips knew and could prove any particular 'facts againſt a miniſter, you would certainly give 'an account of them to the houſe, and have 'judgment upon them; nay, if any particular 'paper ſhould be neceſſary for a proof of thoſe 'facts, the houſe would, probably, agree to a 'motion for having it laid before us; but ſurely 'we are not to call for all papers relating to the 'conduct of publick affairs for ſome years prece-'ding, in order from thence to fiſh out an accuſa-'tion againſt a miniſter.

'According to theſe rules, my Lords, we have 'no occaſion for having the papers now moved 'for laid before us, becauſe, if we think it our 'duty, we may, without ſeeing any of thoſe pa-'pers, proceed to adviſe his Majeſty, or cenſure

'his miniſters; but the affairs of *Europe* are at 'preſent in ſuch a perplexed ſituation, that I do 'not think we can, from a general view of things, 'determine what advice may be moſt proper to 'be given to his Majeſty; and with regard to the 'conduct of the war, I am ſure we have no rea'ſon, either from general appearances, or from 'any particular fact I have heard of, to cenſure 'any of his Majeſty's miniſters. We have met 'with as few misfortunes, as, I believe, ever any 'nation did in a twelvemonth, or ſixteen months 'courſe of war, and we have done as much da'mage to the enemy, as could well be expected, 'conſidering how ill we were provided for carry'ing it on, when we were obliged to begin hoſti'lities. I muſt ſuppoſe, that no friend of Admiral '*Vernon*'s will ſay, he attacked *Porto Bello*, or '*Fort Chagra* without orders: He bravely per'formed both theſe ſervices, and if it had been 'proper to keep poſſeſſion of theſe two places, 'which I much queſtion, it could not be done, 'till we had ſent a proper force to the *Weſt-Indies* 'for that purpoſe, which we could not do at the 'beginning of a war; for when a war breaks out 'between two nations, I ſhall always think, that 'defence at home is the firſt thing to be taken 'care of: Therefore the beſt and the only thing 'we could do, was to give Mr. *Vernon* orders to 'demoliſh theſe forts as ſoon as taken; by which 'we not only opened a profitable trade for our'ſelves, but rendered it impoſſible for the enemy 'to get thoſe ſupplies of treaſure from *America*, 'without which they cannot carry on the war 'with vigour againſt us.'

The laſt ſpeaker in this debate was the Earl of *Halifax*, who ſpoke to this effect:

'My

'My Lords,

'I am ſorry to obſerve, that it is now become a Earl of *Halifax*'s ſpeech.
'common topick in our debates here, as well as in
'our converſation without doors, that publick
'praiſe ought to be deſpiſed, and the opinion of
'the giddy multitude altogether diſregarded.
'This, my Lords, is a moſt terrible ſymptom, if
'Mr. *Addiſon* be right in his obſervation; for in
'one of his Spectators, I remember, he obſerves,
'We then only deſpiſe commendation, when we
'ceaſe to deſerve it. As I am acquainted with
'the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, I am convinced
'he will never ceaſe to deſerve commendation;
'but I was really in pain, when I heard him en-
'deavouring to perſuade your Lordſhips to deſpiſe
'the opinions, the ſuſpicions, and the clamours of
'the people without doors: I ſay, I was in pain,
'leſt ſome of thoſe who are not acquainted with
'his Lordſhip, ſhould think of this obſervation,
'which, I am ſure, is very unjuſt, when applied
'to him. The deſire of fame, the deſire of ap-
'plauſe is one of the moſt exalted, and one of
'the moſt uſeful affections of the human mind;
'it is ſo cloſely connected with our nature, that I
'believe no man can intirely rid himſelf of it;
'and therefore no man will pretend to deſpiſe the
'reproaches or the ſuſpicions of his countrymen,
'but he that is conſcious of their being juſt. A
'man of ſteady reſolution will not allow himſelf
'to be carried away with every new opinion that
'prevails among the people; nor will he do what
'is wrong, in order to gain a popular applauſe;
'but ſurely he will not allow his character to lie
'under ſuſpicion among his countrymen, if he
'can by any means clear it up: The multitude
'may ſometimes be artfully led into a wrong way
'of thinking, or they may be induced to clamour
'without reaſon; but it is not the part of a good
'citizen to deſpiſe that opinion, or that clamour;

'it is his duty to endeavour to ſet the people 'right; and if the opinion or clamour be againſt 'himſelf, for the ſake of his own character, as 'well as in duty to the publick, he ought to take 'the moſt proper and the moſt ſpeedy method for 'his juſtification.

'This, my Lords, is the duty of every private 'man, and much more is it the duty of a magi-'ſtrate or miniſter. Even in abſolute govern-'ments the miniſters ought to take all proper 'methods for gaining the affections and eſteem of 'the people, and conſequently for removing every 'ſuſpicion and clamour, that may happen to ariſe 'againſt them; but in a free government, this is 'not only the duty of the miniſters and magi-'ſtrates, but they are under an abſolute neceſſity 'to do ſo, if they have a mind to continue in 'their office: For the diſtinguiſhing and the ſole 'ſign of a people's being free, is that of their be-'ing governed by thoſe laws and thoſe men they 'approve of; if a law comes to be thought in-'convenient or oppreſſive by the majority of a 'free people, it will be repealed; if a magiſtrate 'or miniſter comes to be hated or deſpiſed by a 'majority of a free people, he will be removed; 'and therefore, if in any country a law ſtands un-'repealed for ſome time after it begins to be diſap-'proved by a majority of the people, or if a ma-'giſtrate or miniſter continues in office for ſome 'time after he begins to be generally hated or de-'ſpiſed, that government is not a free government, 'that people have no pretence to call themſelves a 'free people. For this reaſon, I am ſurprized to 'hear it ſaid, that our miniſters deſpiſe the cla-'mours of the people, or that they do not deſire 'your Lordſhips aſſiſtance for allaying thoſe cla-'mours: My Lords, if they deſpiſe thoſe cla-'mours, if they do not deſire to take the moſt 'proper and the moſt ſpeedy method for allaying

'them, which is by an impartial parliamentary in-
'quiry, I will affirm they have, or at leaſt they
'think they have found out another method of
'governing, another method of preſerving their
'power, than that which is the only method in a
'free country, I mean the eſteem and affections
'of the generality of the people; and if they
'have any ſuch thoughts, I hope they will ſoon
'find themſelves diſappointed.

'A general clamour, my Lords, muſt be a
'terrible thing to any miniſter: In abſolute go-
'vernments it at laſt produces mobs and inſur-
'rections: In free governments it will always
'produce a legal inquiry into his conduct, and
'often (for ſuch a clamour is ſeldom raiſed with-
'out juſt ground) a legal condemnation. In caſe
'of any clamour, tho' far from being general,
'if a miniſter be conſcious of his own innocence,
'he will deſire, he will promote an inquiry, he
'will inſiſt upon its being made with the utmoſt
'ſtrictneſs, and by thoſe who are leaſt ſuſpected
'of being partial in his favour. But when mi-
'niſters are for concealing their actions, and
'keeping them all in utter darkneſs, I muſt
'always ſuppoſe their actions are ſuch, as would
'appear black and horrid in the light.

'That there is at preſent a moſt general cla-
'mour againſt the late conduct of our publick
'affairs, no man can be ignorant, whatever he
'may pretend. The people clamoured againſt
'our conduct in peace, they now clamour againſt
'our conduct in war; and in both, I'm afraid
'their clamours are not without reaſon. This
'clamour, my Lords, is not among thoſe that
'are diſaffected to his Majeſty, or to the preſent
'eſtabliſhment: Upon the contrary, inſtead of
'clamouring they ſmile, they rejoice in the ge-
'neral uneaſineſs they ſee among the people.
'The clamour is among thoſe who are the beſt

'friends to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and 'their uneaſineſs is increaſed by their having 'nothing to anſwer to the ſarcaſms of thoſe who 'are its profeſſed enemies, but with *Phaethon* 'to ſay,

——— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
Et dici potuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli.

'As your Lordſhips ſit here by an hereditary 'right, you may not perhaps think yourſelves ſo 'much obliged to take notice of the clamours 'and complaints of the people without doors, 'and therefore may wave giving yourſelves the 'trouble to inquire into the conduct of our 'publick affairs, either for the juſtification or 'condemnation of our miniſters; but if the other 'houſe does not, I muſt ſuppoſe, that a majority 'of that houſe have no regard, either for the 'eſteem or affections of thoſe they repreſent, and 'conſequently, that upon a new election they 'depend upon being rechoſen by other methods 'than are conſiſtent with our conſtitution. From 'hence one may ſoon determine, whether the 'conſtitution of our government be as yet intire; 'for if this ſeſſion ſhould paſs over without an 'inquiry's being ſet on foot in the other houſe, 'and the ſame members ſhould be generally re-'choſen, as have now ſeats in that houſe, I ſhall 'conclude, that our conſtitution is at an end, and 'that a majority of the members of the other 'houſe are not, as they ſhould be, the repreſen-'tatives of the people, but the creatures and 'tools of the court.

'This, I ſay, my Lords, I ſhall conclude, 'and this, I believe, will be the concluſion that 'will, from theſe circumſtances, be drawn by 'moſt men in the kingdom, which will of courſe 'very much increaſe the diſcontents and the 'murmurings of the people; therefore, if our 'miniſters are ſenſible, that the preſent clamours

'are without any foundation, it is very much 'their intereſt to have their conduct juſtified by 'an inquiry during this ſeſſion of Parliament: 'Nay, ſuppoſe they have been guilty of ſome 'failings, it is their intereſt to have an inquiry 'now ſet on foot; becauſe they have many more 'friends in the preſent houſe of Commons, than 'they can expect in the next, conſidering the 'humour in which the people are at preſent, un-'leſs they are reſolved to add a moſt heinous 'crime to their former failings, by making uſe 'of ſome corrupt or illegal means for influencing 'the inſuing elections.

'Thus, my Lords, it is evident, that if our 'miniſters are innocent, if their conduct has been 'wiſe and upright, it is not only their duty, but 'their intereſt to have it ſtrictly inquired into, 'in order to have it juſtified in the eyes of the 'people, and to make their continuance in the 'adminiſtration conſiſtent with the very eſſence 'of a free government; and if they are guilty, 'I am ſure it is our duty to inquire into their 'conduct, in order to remove them from the ad-'miniſtration, and to prevent the nation's ſuffer-'ing any longer by their miſconduct. In the 'former caſe, they are obliged, for their own 'ſake, to lay every paper before us, that is ne-'ceſſary for giving us a full view of their con-'duct; and in the latter, we ſhould, for the 'ſake of our country, oblige them to do ſo. 'Even in the courts below, parties are often 'ordered to bring into court all papers relating 'to the ſuit depending; and if any one refuſes, 'he will be committed for a contempt. How 'then can any one doubt this houſe's having a 'power to call for any paper we think neceſſary 'for clearing up a matter depending before us? 'But we are told we muſt not do ſo, becauſe we 'ſhould thereby diſcover the ſecrets of our go-

'vernment to our enemies, which is inconſiſtent 'with the ſafety and welfare of our country. 'This, my Lords, is in other terms ſaying, 'that it is inconſiſtent with the publick good, 'for this houſe ever to inquire or adviſe; 'for we can do neither, without having before 'us thoſe materials that are neceſſary for our in-'formation; and if it be inconſiſtent with the 'publick good to lay ſuch materials before us, it 'muſt be inconſiſtent with the publick good for 'this houſe ever to inquire into paſt meaſures, or 'to give our advice about future.

'But every one knows, and the noble Lord 'who ſpoke laſt ſeemed to admit, that the ſecrets 'of the government may be as ſafely committed 'to a committee of this houſe, as to any com-'mittee of his Majeſty's privy council, or even 'as to one ſole counſellor. His Lordſhip, how-'ever, ſtarted a new objection, by ſaying, that 'we could not proceed either to adviſe, cenſure, 'or juſtify, upon the report of that committee; 'nor would the nation be ſatisfied with any juſti-'fication founded upon ſuch a report, becauſe 'the Lords committees could report nothing but 'their opinion, and their opinion could not be a 'foundation upon which the other Lords of this 'houſe, who had ſeen none of the papers, could 'proceed to adviſe, cenſure, or juſtify; or if 'we proceeded to juſtify, the nation would not 'join with us in placing an implicit faith in the 'opinion of the Lords committees.

'This, I confeſs, my Lords, is ſomething 'new, but it ſeems to be founded upon a moſt 'obvious miſtake; for ſurely we are not to ſup-'poſe, that if all the papers relating to our late 'publick tranſactions were laid before a commit-'tee of this houſe, that committee would find 'no facts worth reporting, but thoſe that are of 'a ſecret nature, and ought not therefore to be

'dif-

'diſcovered. The committee would certainly 'report many facts; they would prove thoſe facts 'by whole papers, or by extracts from ſuch as 'could not be wholly communicated; and they 'would give us their opinion upon the whole. 'From thence every Lord of this houſe, and, if 'the report were publiſh'd, every man without 'doors might judge for himſelf, and from his 'own knowledge: We might adviſe, we might 'cenſure, we might juſtify, and the nation would 'join with us in an opinion they ſaw ſupported 'by ſuch inconteſtable vouchers. But what are 'we now a going to do? We are going to re-'ſolve, if this queſtion paſſes in the negative, 'that the papers moved for contain moſt impor-'tant ſecrets, only becauſe the friends of our 'miniſter ſay they do. This is really putting a 'more implicit faith in our miniſter, than the 'Roman Catholicks put in the Pope; for, I think, 'his Holineſs is himſelf obliged to pronounce his 'infallible decrees. Will the nation join with 'us in this? Will they not join in ſaying, that 'our faith proceeds from ſomething elſe than 'conviction?

'But ſuppoſe the Lords committees ſhould re-'port nothing but their opinion, I ſhall not ſay, 'that upon their opinion the houſe could proceed 'to condemn a miniſter; but even upon their 'opinion we might proceed to adviſe his Maje-'ſty, with regard to future meaſures; we might 'proceed to juſtify the conduct of our miniſters; 'we might even proceed to adviſe his Majeſty 'to remove ſome of them from his councils. 'In this laſt, I am perſuaded the far greateſt 'part of the nation would join with us; and if 'the opinion of the committee were in favour 'of our late conduct, I believe very few of thoſe 'who oppoſe this motion, would refuſe their aſ-'ſent to that opinion: Nay, if we made a right

'choice

'choice of Lords committees, I believe their opi-
'nion would have great weight with moſt peo-
'ple in the nation. I could name ſeveral Lords
'now in this houſe, whoſe characters are ſo well
'eſtabliſh'd, that if after a ſtrict inquiry and
'full information, they ſhould report, that they
'could find no fault with any part of our late
'conduct, but that they could not give their
'reaſons, becauſe they depended upon facts
'which muſt not be diſcover'd: I ſay, ſuch a
'report from them would, I believe, gain credit
'with the greateſt part of the nation, and would
'very much contribute towards allaying thoſe
'clamours that are now ſo loud and general.

'For confirming what I ſay, I muſt obſerve,
'my Lords, that one of the chief complaints
'againſt the conduct of the war, is, that Admi-
'ral *Vernon* either had not proper orders, or that
'he was not provided with a proper force for
'carrying thoſe orders into execution. That he
'had not a proper force for attacking the *Spa-*
'*niards* at land, is publickly known, and muſt be
'admitted; but in excuſe for this it is ſaid, we
'were in ſuch danger at home, that we durſt not
'venture to ſend any of our regular troops out
'of the kingdom at the beginning of the war.
'Here, then, are two facts in queſtion, whether
'Admiral *Vernon* had proper orders, and whether
'we were in any ſuch danger; and, I believe, nine
'tenths of the kingdom are upon the negative
'ſide of the queſtion with regard to both. Now if
'we ſhould appoint a proper committee, and that
'committee, after having ſeen all they could deſire
'to ſee, ſhould report barely their opinion, that
'Admiral *Vernon* was furniſhed with proper orders,
'and that the government had certain advice of
'ſuch a dangerous inſurrection intended, that it
'would have been very imprudent to have ſent
'out any of our regular troops, I am convinced,

'that

'that all the friends to our preſent happy eſta-
'bliſhment would give credit to this report,
'and would from thence ceaſe their complaints
'againſt this part of our conduct.

'I have ſaid, my Lords, a dangerous inſurrec-
'tion intended, becauſe, unleſs our government
'had certain advice of ſuch an intention, they
'can plead no excuſe for not ſending a ſufficient
'land force along with, or ſoon after Admiral
'*Vernon*. Conſidering the weak condition of
'*Spain*, and the bad condition the naval force of
'*France* was in at the beginning of this war, we
'could not have been in any danger from a fo-
'reign invaſion, even tho' we had ſent every re-
'giment of foot we had in the kingdom to *Ameri-*
'*ca*: Whereas, if we had ſent but one third part
'of them thither at the beginning of the war, we
'might have forced *Spain* to a *Carte blanche* before
'this time. Whether our miniſters had certain ad-
'vice of any ſuch inſurrection intended, I ſhall
'not pretend to determine; but if they had not,
'I will ſay, they ought not to have allowed
'themſelves to be frighten'd from a vigorous
'proſecution of the war in the moſt proper
'place, by any threatnings of an invaſion, either
'from *France* or *Spain*; and I think it is highly
'probable they had no advice of any ſuch inſur-
'rection intended; for if they had been inform'd
'of any ſuch deſign, we ſhould certainly before
'now have had the *habeas corpus* act ſuſpended,
'and many perſons of note taken into cuſtody.
'Therefore, if our miniſters, or the friends of
'our miniſters, ſhould oppoſe an inquiry into
'their conduct, or, which is the ſame thing, our
'having thoſe materials before us that are ne-
'ceſſary for an inquiry, I ſhall be apt to ſuppoſe
'the oppoſition proceeds from a conſciouſneſs of
'their guilt, and not from the danger of diſco-

'vering

'vering the ſecrets of government, by laying 'any papers before this aſſembly.

'In the caſe mentioned by the noble Lord, of 'his Majeſty's having a ſecret correſpondence 'with any of the ſubjects of *Spain*, which he is 'in honour obliged not to communicate to any, 'but thoſe he employs to make the proper uſe 'of the intelligence thereby received, I ſhall 'grant it would not be right in us to deſire, that 'ſuch a correſpondence ſhould be communicated 'to us; but this, my Lords, is no argument 'againſt the preſent motion, becauſe if his Ma'jeſty ſhould, in his anſwer to our addreſs, ac'quaint us with any ſuch circumſtance, it would 'be our duty to thank his Majeſty for his care 'of the publick, and to deſire, that ſuch a corre'ſpondence ſhould not be laid before this aſſem'bly.

'From ſuch arguments as theſe, his Lordſhip 'concluded, that we never can addreſs for having 'all papers laid before us relating to any foreign 'affair, whilſt it is in agitation; that is to ſay, 'we never can inquire into any ſuch affair, whilſt 'our inquiry can be of any ſervice to the nation; 'for what ſignifies an inquiry into an affair after 'it is paſt remedy, or into the conduct of a mini'ſter after he is laid in his grave? But this his 'Lordſhip ſaid could not hinder us giving a ge'neral advice to the crown, or cenſuring a mini'ſter's conduct, from circumſtances publickly 'known, or from facts that have accidentally 'come to light. My Lords, as to advice, I am 'ſure it can never be of any ſervice to the crown, 'if it can never be founded upon any thing but 'circumſtances publickly known. But as to 'cenſure, I am afraid his Lordſhip's argument 'will upon the preſent occaſion turn a very dif'ferent way from what he intended. From the 'general ſtate of things, from the circumſtances

'that

'that are publickly known, our miniſter's con-
'duct muſt he condemn'd; it is already cenſur'd
'by the whole nation; it is laugh'd at by the
'whole world: We do not, therefore, want an
'inquiry, in order to fiſh out an accuſation againſt
'him; for from publick appearances his conduct
'accuſes itſelf; but it is from the juſtice, the le-
'nity, and the moderation of this houſe, that we
'deſire an inquiry, in order to fiſh out, if poſ-
'ſible, an excuſe for his conduct. We want to
'inquire into ſecret circumſtances, in order to
'ſee if thoſe ſecret circumſtances can any way
'atone for publick appearances; and if the mi-
'niſter prevents this inquiry, under any pretence
'whatſoever, I ſhall ſuppoſe, that the private
'circumſtances of affairs are as much againſt
'him, as thoſe that are publick; and conſequent-
'ly I ſhall be for our proceeding to cenſure, with-
'out any previous inquiry.

'I was really ſurprized to hear the noble Lord
'ſay, we have met with no extraordinary misfor-
'tunes during the war. It would ſeem as if his
'Lordſhip converſed with no merchants; or if
'he did, that they were ſuch as dealt more in
''*Change Alley*, than upon the *Royal Exchange*. It
'was not poſſible for the *Spaniards* to attack
'our dominions; it was not poſſible for them to
'attack our ſquadrons; they could only attack
'our defenceleſs merchant-ſhips; and in that they
'have had ſuch ſurprizing ſucceſs, that it would
'ſeem as if they had a licenſe to do ſo. How this
'neglect of our trade can be accounted for from
'the private circumſtances of affairs, I do not
'know; but, I am ſure, it is impoſſible to ac-
'count for it from thoſe circumſtances that are
'publickly known; and as little can we from
'ſuch circumſtances account for our not ſending
'a proper land force to the *Weſt-Indies* at the
'very beginning of the war. Surely it muſt be

'allowed,

'allowed, that if we had but ſent one third of 'the troops we had then on foot, to the *Weſt-* 'Indies, at the beginning of the war, we might 'have done a great deal more damage to the 'enemy, and might have reaped much great- 'er advantages for ourſelves, than we have done; 'and nothing, as I have ſaid, can excuſe our not 'having ſent ſuch a body of troops thither, 'as ſoon as we declared war, but our govern- 'ment's having had private advice of a dange- 'rous inſurrection's being intended at home. 'Thus our conduct of the war, both with re- 'gard to offence and defence, ſtands condemned 'by all publick appearances, and can be juſtified 'by nothing but private circumſtances, which 'we now want to inquire into, and as we cannot 'do this without having the papers now moved 'for before us, therefore, as a friend to our mi- 'niſters, if they are innocent, as a friend to my 'country, if they are guilty, I muſt be for agree- 'ing to what my noble friend has propoſed.'

Motion diſagreed to.

But upon the queſtion's being put, it paſſed in the negative, 57 *Not Contents*, to 35 *Contents*, which occaſioned the following proteſt.

Diſſentient'

Proteſt upon it.

1. Becauſe we conceive, that the calling for all inſtructions given to Generals and Admirals, is not only proper and precedented, but is alſo a neceſſary ſtep towards the exertion of our privilege, as hereditary counſellors of adviſing the crown, which privilege can be properly exerciſed only in matters depending. And, if from pretended apprehenſions of unſeaſonable diſcoveries, inſtructions are to be kept ſecret from this houſe, till after they have had their effect, the weakneſs or guilt of the meaſures of an adminiſtration will appear

appear probably too late to puniſh the offenders, but certainly too late to prevent the miſchief.

2. Becauſe we do not find any negative put upon motions for inſtructions before the year 1721; from which time, indeed, inſtructions began to be of ſuch a nature, that we do not wonder their authors deſir'd to conceal them. The inſtructions by which our fleet lay in ſhameful inaction before *Gibraltar*, when beſieg'd, and ſuffer'd the enemy's ſhips to bring proviſions and ammunition to their army, and thoſe by which three Admirals, about thirty captains, above one hundred lieutenants, and four thouſand private ſeamen, periſhed moſt ingloriouſly at the *Baſtimento's*, create, as we conceive, a juſt ſuſpicion of ſubſequent inſtructions flowing from the ſame ſource, and in our opinion, evince the neceſſity of the ſtricteſt inquiry and moſt ample informations in this important conjuncture.

3. Becauſe the motion under the limitations which accompanied it, was not even liable, as we apprehend, to the modern objection of making improper diſcoveries of future deſigns; and it is impoſſible to conceive, that when Admiral *Vernon* failed from hence with ſo ſmall a force as five ſhips only, and before the long wiſh'd-for declaration of war, that his inſtructions could contain any thing more than orders for repriſals; ſince, conſidering his inſufficient force, any orders to attempt even what he ſo happily and unexpectedly executed, would have been contrary to the genius, and inconſiſtent with the too long experienced pacifick diſpoſition of the adminiſtration.

4. Becauſe, that as the *Weſt-Indies* were allow'd by all Lords in the debate to be the proper ſcene of action, we think it our duty more particularly to attend to the conduct of the adminiſtration in thoſe parts; eſpecially ſince from the time of the decla-

declaration of war, till very lately, that important ſcene of action ſeems to have been neglected or forgot; while, as we apprehend, the ſlighteſt alarms have been fondly credited as reaſons for keeping our numerous forces at home, to the oppreſſion of the people; whereas a ſmall proportion of them, timely employ'd in the *Weſt-Indies* againſt a then unprepared and unprovided enemy, might probably have enabled Vice-Admiral *Vernon* to have brought this juſt and neceſſary war to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion.

5. Becauſe we apprehend that the denial of theſe neceſſary lights in the firſt ſtep of the inquiry, not only caſts a damp upon the inquiry itſelf, but muſt alſo leſſen the weight of any reſolutions that may be taken in the courſe of it. The nation that ſo unanimouſly expects and calls for an inquiry into a conduct, which at beſt ſeems to them unaccountable, if not blameable, will be confirmed in whatever ſuſpicions they might entertain, when the lights neceſſary to remove thoſe ſuſpicions are denied; and ſhould we come to any vote of approbation, ſuch a vote may perhaps be miſconſtrued to be an influenced complaiſance to the adminiſtration, the dictated reſult of a pretended inquiry, founded only upon imperfect facts, and partial repreſentations.

Bathurſt	Greenwich
Cheſterfield	Weſtmorland
Carliſle	Shaftſbury
Bridgwater	Cobham
Middleton	Heverſham
Aylesford,	Talbot
Willoughby de Brooke	Litchfield
Thanet	Halifax
Denbigh	Gower.
Briſtol	

As

As ſoon as the diviſion upon the laſt motion was over, the Lord *Bathurſt* ſtood up again, and ſpoke in ſubſtance thus:

Motion in the ſaid houſe for letters from and to Admiral *Vernon*.

Lord *Bathurſt*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'Notwithſtanding the bad ſucceſs of my former motion, I ſhall venture to make you another, which I hope will not appear to be liable 'to the ſame objection. I can at leaſt ſay, that 'it does not appear ſo to me, tho', I confeſs, I 'may probably be miſtaken; for with regard to 'my former motion, I thought I had fully guarded againſt the objection, which your Lordſhips 'have found ſufficient for throwing it out. However, I ſhall lay before your Lordſhips the motion I have thought of, and then you may determine, whether you will agree to it or no: It is in 'ſhort this: "To reſolve, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will "be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that "there be laid before this houſe copies of all letters written by Vice-Admiral *Vernon* to the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord high "Admiral of *Great-Britain*, or their ſecretary, and "to his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of ſtate, "from the time of ſailing from *England* in the "year 1739, to the 24th of *June* laſt; and alſo "copies of all letters written by the ſaid Commiſſioners, or their ſecretary, and the Principal "Secretaries of ſtate, to the ſaid Vice-Admiral, "within the ſaid time."

'My reaſon for making you this motion, my 'Lords, is, becauſe I have heard it confidently 'reported without doors, that Armiral *Vernon* has 'in his letters frequently repreſented the weak 'condition of the *Spaniſh* forts and ſettlements in '*America*; and that if a few land forces ſhould 'be ſent to him, before the enemy could find an

'opportunity to provide, fortify, and ſtrengthen 'themſelves in that part of the world, it would 'probably be in his power to make ſuch impor- 'tant conqueſts in *America*, as might ſoon oblige 'the enemy to ſue for peace. Beſides this, my 'Lords, I have likewiſe heard it confidently re- 'ported without doors, that the ſame Admiral 'has frequently complained, not only of the 'want of naval ſtores, amunition, and proviſions, 'but alſo of the badneſs of thoſe he carried along 'with him, or that were afterwards ſent to him; 'and that theſe complaints were often and long 'made, before care was taken to ſend him any 'proper ſupply.

'Theſe reports, my Lords, are certainly ſuch 'as this houſe ought to inquire into: If they 'are well founded, I am ſure, conſidering the 'great army we had on foot, and the large an- 'nual ſupplies we have for many years granted 'towards the ſupport and repair of our navy; I 'ſay, my Lords, conſidering theſe things, I am 'ſure ſome body ought to be puniſhed, if 'it ſhould appear, that Admiral *Vernon* made 'any ſuch complaints or repreſentations. And if 'theſe reports are without any foundation, we 'ought to inquire into them, in order to juſtify 'his Majeſty's government in the eyes of his 'people; for it is one of the greateſt advantages 'our Sovereign reaps from our happy conſtitu- 'tion, that his government cannot be miſrepre- 'ſented to the people, if he allows our conſtitu- 'tion to take its proper effect; becauſe an im- 'partial parliamentary inquiry will always ſet 'the people right, and convict the malicious of 'falſhood. We may therefore depend on it, 'that when any reports are ſpread to the preju- 'dice of the adminiſtration, no miniſter will ever 'adviſe his Maſter to obſtruct an impartial par- 'liamentary inquiry, if his conduct be blameleſs;

'and

'and if it be otherwiſe, it is the duty of this 'houſe to ſet it in its true light, before the eyes 'of our Sovereign.

'This, my Lords, is not the firſt time the 'government, as well as thoſe employ'd by the 'government, have ſuffer'd by groundleſs re-'ports. It was confidently and generally re-'ported, and for many years believed, that Sir '*George Byng* attacked and deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* 'fleet in 1718, without any inſtructions from 'hence, and without making the leaſt intimation 'of his deſign to the court of *Spain*. No man 'doubted of our having a right to attack that 'fleet, becauſe it was ſent to attack one of our 'beſt allies; but every man ſaid, it was wrong in 'the Admiral to attack it without proper orders 'for that purpoſe; and every man ſaid, it was 'wrong to give ſuch orders, without firſt requi-'ring the court of *Spain* to deſiſt, and declaring 'to them that we would attack them, if they 'proceeded in their deſign. Thus, both the go-'vernment and Sir *George Byng* lay under a hea-'vy imputation of guilt, till very lately that the 'affair has been cleared up by publiſhing his or-'ders, and the ſteps he took for giving notice of 'them to the court of *Spain*; from whence it ap-'pears, that he had expreſs orders for what he 'did, that theſe orders were duly intimated to 'the court of *Spain*, and that in this whole affair 'at leaſt (whatever may be ſaid of our preceding 'negotiations for giving *Sicily* to the Emperor, 'without reſerving the right of reverſion, veſted 'by the treaty of *Utrecht* in the crown of *Spain*) 'we did nothing but what was right, nothing 'but what was conſiſtent with the niceſt punctilio 'of honour, with regard to *Spain*, and nothing 'but what we were in honour obliged to do, 'with regard to the Emperor. I wiſh the ſame 'ſort of conduct had been purſued till this time:

'If it had, neither the affairs of this nation, nor 'the affairs of *Europe*, would have been in the 'melancholy poſture they are now in; but as a 'new planet ſoon after began to get the aſcen-'dant in all our councils, and to ſpread its ma-'lign influence over the whole ſcheme of our 'politicks, we then began to lay down different 'maxims, and to the ruin of this nation, to the 'confuſion of *Europe*, theſe maxims have ever 'ſince been purſued.

'This, my Lords, was the true reaſon that pre-'vailed with a majority of this houſe to refuſe 'calling for Sir *George Byng*'s inſtructions in *De-'cember* 1721; a part of this houſe, of which I 'glory in having been one, were for having thoſe 'inſtructions laid before us, in order either to juſ-'tify his late Majeſty's government, or to puniſh 'thoſe that had been guilty of what was then 'thought to have been a moſt raſh, a moſt diſ-'honourable, and moſt pernicious ſtep, either in 'the Admiral, or in thoſe that gave him his in-'ſtructions. But by the influence of our govern-'ing planet, we had then laid down the maxim 'ſo invariably purſued ever ſince, of ſuing for 'peace, inſtead of doing what was proper to 'command it, and of cultivating a friendſhip 'with the houſe of *Bourbon*, at the expence, and 'even to the deſtruction of the houſe of *Au-'ſtria*.

'In purſuance of this maxim, my Lords, we had 'the ſummer before, concluded a ſeparate peace 'with *Spain*, without taking the leaſt notice of our 'ally the Emperor, and at the ſame time a defen-'ſive alliance with *France* and *Spain*, which could 'be deſign'd againſt none but the Emperor. But 'what was worſt of all, by our treaty of peace 'with *Spain*, we had owned our having been in 'the wrong, by promiſing to reſtore all the ſhips 'we had taken from them in the year 1718; and

'there-

'therefore it was neceſſary for our new miniſter, 'who, I muſt ſuppoſe, had adviſed our ſuing for 'this peace, and agreeing to this article, to con-'tinue the nation in a belief, that ſomething 'wrong and diſhonourable, with regard to *Spain*, 'had been done in the year 1718, and that we 'had been led into that meaſure by the artifice 'of the court of *Vienna*. If Sir *George Byng*'s 'inſtructions had been then laid before this 'houſe, the contrary would have appeared; and 'in that caſe the whole nation, as well as this 'houſe, muſt have condemned the two treaties I 'have mentioned, which would have tumbled 'our new miniſter headlong from his ſeat, before 'he had had time to fix himſelf in the ſaddle. 'For this reaſon he prevailed, by I do not know 'what means, with a majority of this houſe, to 'put a negative upon that motion, tho' no ne-'gative had ever before been put upon any 'ſuch motion in this houſe, which I muſt ob-'ſerve, is expreſsly taken notice of in a proteſt 'enter'd upon your Journals at that time; and 'as that proteſt was ſigned by the Lords '*Cowper* and *Trevor*, who muſt be allowed 'to have been good judges of our conſtitution, 'and expreſsly mentions the journals to have 'been ſearched for that very purpoſe, I muſt 'ſuppoſe, it was the very firſt time that ever 'ſuch a queſtion had been carried in the nega-'tive.

'Theſe, my Lords, are the reaſons which have 'induced me to make you this ſecond motion, 'and I cannot think it is liable to the objection 'that was made againſt the former. I am ſure 'it cannot be ſaid, that by this motion any 'ſecrets will be diſcover'd, that are known on-'ly to his Majeſty and Mr. *Vernon*. But if your 'Lordſhips ſhould ſuppoſe, that ſome of theſe 'letters, or ſome parts of ſome of them, may

'relate to deſigns yet remaining to be executed, and that it would be dangerous to 'lay them before this houſe, leſt it could occaſion a diſcovery, you may add to this motion 'the ſame exception I added to my former; and 'in that caſe, I think it impoſſible for the 'moſt fruitful invention to find any reaſonable 'objection to it; therefore, I hope I ſhall have 'better luck upon this occaſion, than I had with 'regard to my laſt motion.

The next ſpeech we ſhall give, was that made by the Lord Chancellor, the purport of which was as follows, *viz.*

'My Lords,

Lord Chancellor's ſpeech. 'I am ſorry I differ ſo widely from the noble 'Lord, as I do with regard to both his motions. 'The laſt I gave my negative to, becauſe I 'thought the addreſs thereby propoſed, was ſuch 'a one as his Majeſty could not comply with; 'and I ſhall never be for this houſe's going with 'a requeſt of any ſort to the King, when it appears upon the very face of it, to be ſuch a one 'as his Majeſty muſt neceſſarily refuſe to grant. 'My opinion of this ſecond is the very ſame; 'and I think it is hardly poſſible to ſhew any 'material difference between the two motions. 'If it would have been of dangerous conſequence to have had all Mr. *Vernon's* inſtructions laid before us, which your Lordſhips were 'of opinion it would, certainly it would be equally dangerous to have all his letters laid before us; becauſe the letters from and to him, 'or at leaſt many of them, muſt relate to his inſtructions, and muſt contain ſeveral explanations, 'or perhaps alterations, and additions to them: 'So that if it be of dangerous conſequence to 'have his inſtructions laid before this aſſembly, 'leſt the ſecrets of our government ſhould be

'thereby

'thereby diſcovered to our enemies, it muſt, for 'the ſame reaſon, be equally dangerous to have 'his letters laid before us; and conſequently, 'every Lord who gave his negative to the laſt 'queſtion, muſt, in my opinion, give his nega-'tive to this.

'I hope, my Lords, it will not be queſtioned, 'that I am as much for vindicating his Majeſty's 'government againſt all malicious aſperſions, as 'any Lord in this houſe, or as any man in the 'kingdom; but I ſhall never be for vindicating 'his Majeſty's government, by endangering his 'Majeſty's government; for, I think, it is much 'better that the conduct of the adminiſtration 'ſhould for a while labour under ſome ground-'leſs calumnies, than that the ſafety of the na-'tion ſhould be brought into danger, or the 'ſucceſs either of our negotiations or arms pre-'vented, by endeavouring to remove ſuch calum-'nies. The noble Lord himſelf ſhewed, by the 'example he brought, how groundleſsly the go-'vernment may be aſperſed by ignorant or mali-'cious men. There never was, I believe, a mea-'ſure more generally exclaimed againſt by the 'people of this nation, there never was a meaſure 'more maliciouſly aſperſed and miſrepreſented by 'the enemies of our preſent eſtabliſhment, than 'our attacking the *Spaniſh* fleet in the year 1718; 'and yet, we find, our miniſters thought proper 'to leave the government expoſed to theſe miſre-'preſentations, rather than juſtify it by laying Sir 'George Byng's inſtructions before this aſſembly. 'Their motive for this could not proceed from 'what the noble Lord has been pleaſed to aſſign; 'becauſe, though the famous *South-Sea* ſcheme 'had occaſioned ſome changes, yet ſeveral of thoſe 'very Lords continued then in the adminiſtration, 'that had been in it, and had adviſed that mea-'ſure in the year 1718; and we cannot ſuppoſe,

'that theſe Lords would have joined in refuſing 'to call for Sir *George Byng*'s inſtructions, if there 'had been no other motive for that refuſal, but 'that which the noble Lord has been pleaſed to 'aſſign. The true motive certainly was, they 'thought it was inconſiſtent with the publick 'good, to have thoſe inſtructions publiſhed at 'that time, and therefore they refuſed to addreſs 'his Majeſty for what they knew it was not pro-'per he ſhould comply with.

'This, my Lords, I am convinced, was the 'true reaſon for a negative's being put upon that 'queſtion; and if there was no precedent for that 'negative, I believe, it was becauſe there was no 'precedent for ſuch a motion. The caſe relating 'to Sir *George Rook* and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, men-'tioned in the proteſt upon that occaſion, was no 'precedent for that motion; becauſe in that caſe 'the motion was only for the orders given to 'theſe two Admirals, which, as a noble Lord has 'ſhewn in the former debate, are very different 'from inſtructions, the former being ſigned by 'the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty only, where-'as the latter are ſigned by the King; and it often 'happens, that an Admiral's orders may without 'danger be made publick, when his inſtructions 'cannot. Therefore, I think, we cannot upon 'this occaſion follow a better precedent than that 'in 1721, for it muſt be allowed, that the caſe is 'much ſtronger now than it was at that time. 'The houſe may with great reaſon ſuppoſe, that 'it would now be more dangerous, and of much 'worſe conſequence, to diſcover the inſtructions 'given to Admiral *Vernon*, than it could have 'been at that time, to diſcover the inſtructions 'given to Admiral *Byng*; and if we ſuppoſe, it 'would be of bad conſequence to diſcover the in-'ſtructions given to Mr. *Vernon*, we muſt ſuppoſe 'it would be of equal bad conſequence to diſcover

'the letters that relate to thoſe inſtructions, which 'moſt of the letters to and from that Admiral 'muſt be ſuppoſed to do. Nor would the exception propoſed to be added by the noble Lord, 'any way mend the matter; for this exception, 'as in the former caſe, would make the letters 'and paragraphs laid before you ſo incoherent and 'confuſed, that no man could make any thing of 'them.

'Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that it would 'be very improper for us to agree to the noble 'Lord's motion as it ſtands, or as he has propoſed to amend it; but as I am for giving that 'noble Lord, and every Lord of this houſe, as 'much ſatisfaction as poſſible, if he will agree to 'the adding of ſome few reſtraining words, I believe his motion may be ſafely complied with. 'He ſays it has been reported without doors, 'that Admiral *Vernon* has often deſired ſupplies 'of ſhips, men, naval ſtores, and other neceſſaries, and that the ſending of any ſuch has been 'neglected or long delayed, after he had in his 'letters complained of the want of them. This 'is, indeed, a heavy charge againſt the adminiſtration, and as the communicating to this houſe 'the letters to and from him, relating to theſe 'particulars, cannot, I think, be of any bad conſequence to the publick, therefore this charge 'may, I think, be ſafely removed, and the conduct of the adminiſtration vindicated. For this 'reaſon, I muſt beg leave to propoſe the adding, 'by way of amendment to the noble Lord's motion, theſe words: "So far as ſuch letters relate "to any ſupplies of ſhips, men, ſtores, ammuni"tion, proviſions, or other neceſſaries." And if 'your Lordſhips agree to this amendment, I ſhall 'then be for agreeing to the noble Lord's motion, 'which, I hope, will give him ſome ſatisfaction, 'though perhaps not all the ſatisfaction he deſires.'

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The next and the laſt that ſpoke in this debate, was the Duke of *Argyll*, whoſe ſpeech was to this effect.

Duke of *Argyll*'s ſpeech.

'My Lords,

'I do not riſe up to repeat any of the arguments made uſe of in favour of the former motion, or to anſwer any of the objections made to it; but as ſomething new has been ſtarted in this debate, I hope, your Lordſhips will indulge me in making a ſhort reply to what has been ſaid by the learned and noble Lord who ſpoke laſt. Through the whole of what he ſaid upon this new queſtion, he ſeemed to look upon it as admitted, that nothing that required the leaſt ſecrecy could be ſafely communicated to this houſe. From hence your Lordſhips may ſee, how cautious you ought to be of doing any thing that may tend toward eſtabliſhing this as a maxim of our government; for if this ſhould ever come to paſs, you'll have leſs confidence from your Sovereign, you'll be treated in a more contemptible manner by his miniſter, than the writer of the *London Gazette*. An affair of ſtate may be communicated by way of hint to a *Gazetteer*, it may be known to all our news writers, but the auguſt houſe of Peers will be thought unworthy of being truſted with the ſecret. If you ſhould ever allow yourſelves to be treated in ſo contemptible a manner by any miniſter, can you from thenceforth look for any reſpect from the people? Can you be of any ſervice to your King by adviſing? Can you be of any ſervice to your country by inquiring?

'My Lords, the making uſe of this argument upon any occaſion, is, in my opinion, the higheſt indignity that can be offered to this aſſembly; and therefore I muſt ſay, I am ſorry to ſee it

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'received with patience, I cannot pretend to any 'great learning in your journals; but, I am per-'ſuaded, many examples may be found, where pa-'pers of the moſt ſecret nature, and of the higheſt 'importance, have been communicated to this 'houſe, when called for; nay, I have good rea-'ſon to believe, that ſuch motions were always 'agreed to by the houſe, till the year 1721; be-'cauſe I find among the proteſts of that year, a 'proteſt entered againſt the negative then put up-'on a motion for laying before this houſe the in-'ſtructions given to a noble Lord I have in my 'eye, as his Majeſty's miniſter or plenipotentiary 'to the crown of *Sweden*, or any other of the 'northern crowns; and that negative is there ſaid 'to be the firſt inſtance to be found in our jour-'nals, where Lords have moved for a ſight of 'inſtructions of any kind, and have not been ſup-'ported by the houſe in that motion.

'The year 1721, I muſt therefore, my Lords, 'look on, as the fatal æra of this modern maxim; 'which, I confeſs, has been as inviolably, as im-'prudently admitted by the conduct of the houſe, 'ever ſince that time. In the ſame year a nega-'tive was put upon a motion for laying the new 'treaty with *Spain* before this aſſembly; and in 'the ſame year a negative was put upon the mo-'tion for Sir *George Byng*'s inſtructions, as has 'been already mentioned: For this laſt negative, 'the noble Lord who moved you this queſtion, 'has, in my opinion, given you what was very 'probably the true reaſon. I ſhall grant, that 'there were ſeveral Lords at that time in the ſer-'vice of the crown, who had been in that ſervice, 'and ſome of them perhaps in the adminiſtration, 'in the year 1718; but we are not to ſuppoſe, 'that every Lord that is in the ſervice of the 'crown, is likewiſe in the adminiſtration of go-'vernment; for a Lord may be in a very high

'office

'office under the crown, and yet know nothing 'of what is doing in his Majeſty's councils: 'Theſe very inſtructions to Mr. *Vernon*, which 'are now ſaid to contain ſecrets of ſuch high im- 'portance, were made known, I believe, to very 'few of his Majeſty's great officers of ſtate; at 'leaſt I can anſwer for myſelf, that I never ſaw 'them; and yet I was at that time commander in 'chief of his Majeſty's forces, and one of his ca- 'binet council. But your Lordſhips muſt obſerve, 'that we have now two cabinet councils in this 'kingdom; his Majeſty has one, and the miniſter 'has another; and I am afraid it often happens, 'that his Majeſty's cabinet council knows little 'or nothing of what is doing, or intended to be 'done.

'This, my Lords, was perhaps the caſe in the 'year 1721; and if it was, we are not to ſuppoſe, 'that every Lord then in any high office under 'the crown, was made acquainted with the true 'reaſon for putting a negative upon that motion: 'They knew it was reſolved on by the King's 'principal favourite, that a negative ſhould be put 'upon the motion; and as they thought it a mat- 'ter of no great moment, they choſe rather to be 'paſſive in the affair, than to come to an open 'breach with their Sovereign, which every faith- 'ful ſubject will avoid as much as poſſible; be- 'cauſe, by a little compliance in matters of ſmall 'moment, he may afterwards be able to reſcue 'his Sovereign out of the hands of evil counſel- 'lors, or prevent his being led by them into more 'pernicious meaſures. Whether any of thoſe who 'were in the adminiſtration in the year 1718, 'concurred in this negative in 1721, I do not 'remember; but if they did, it could not proceed 'from their believing, that the communicating of 'Sir *George Byng*'s inſtructions to this houſe would 'be of any dangerous conſequence to the nation.

'Theſe

'These inſtructions are now publiſhed, together 'with an authentick account of that whole affair; 'and I defy the moſt artful or the moſt conſum-'mate politician in this houſe, or any other aſſem-'bly, to ſhew how it could have been of any bad 'conſequence to the nation, to have publiſhed 'them in the year 1721.

'Their publication at that time, my Lords, 'might probably have been a moſt ſignal benefit 'to the nation; becauſe it would have opened 'peoples eyes, and might have made both houſes 'of Parliament join in condemning that treaty 'with *Spain*, which I look on as the ſole cauſe of 'all the inſults we have ſince met with from that 'inſolent nation; becauſe our unaccountable fond-'neſs for peace at that time, gave them an opi-'nion, that they might ſafely treat us in any 'manner they pleaſed. If that treaty had been 'condemned by both houſes of Parliament, I be-'lieve, it will be allowed, that the miniſter who 'was the principal adviſer of it, would have been 'in great danger; therefore we may reaſonably 'ſuppoſe, that it was at that time, as it has often 'been ſince, not the danger the nation might be 'expoſed to, but the danger the miniſter might 'be expoſed to, that was the occaſion of a nega-'tive's being put on the motion for having Sir 'George Byng's inſtructions laid before this houſe; 'and if any of the old miniſters joined in that 'negative, it was becauſe they hoped, by tempo-'rizing a little, to be able to get their Sovereign 'out of that pernicious train of politicks he had 'been led into by his new miniſter.

'To excuſe the negative then put upon that 'motion, and to get free of the precedent in '1694, great pains have been taken, in this and 'the former debate, to make a diſtinction between 'orders and inſtructions; and it has been ſaid, 'that in 1694, the motion was for orders only.

'My

'My Lords, I have not examined that journal, 'and therefore from my own knowledge cannot 'ſay, whether it was ſo or not; but the diſtinction 'is, I think, unworthy of this houſe: It might 'perhaps paſs well enough in the courts below, 'where wrangling about words is generally the 'chief part of the argument; but in this houſe, I 'hope, it will never be indulged. Whatever 'difference there may be in the forms of iſſuing 'or ſigning orders and inſtructions, they are in 'effect the ſame: They both equally relate to the 'expedition upon which the Admiral is ſent, and 'both muſt be equally obeyed: If either houſe of 'Parliament were to inquire into the conduct of a 'naval expedition, and ſhould addreſs for the or-'ders given to the commanding officer, I ſhould 'look on it as a pettyfogging ſort of advice, if 'any one were to adviſe his Majeſty, that in pur-'ſuance of that addreſs, he was to lay nothing 'but the orders before Parliament, which are uſu-'ally conceived in very general terms, and refer 'to the inſtructions for more particular directions; 'and therefore no man that is not of a wrangling 'ſort of diſpoſition, would ſuppoſe, that the Par-'liament did not mean by ſuch an addreſs to have 'all ſorts of orders laid before them, whether 'they were ſuch as by the little clerks of the of-'fice are properly called orders, or ſuch as are by 'them properly called inſtructions.

'But, my Lords, I am no ſuch ſlave to pre-'cedents as to think, that we can take no ſtep 'unleſs there be a precedent for it, or that 'we may do whatever our anceſtors have fur-'niſhed us with a precedent for doing. I ſhall 'always be for making ſome uſe of my own un-'derſtanding, and if upon mature deliberation I 'think any ſtep right, I ſhall be for it, tho' 'warranted by no precedent: If I think it 'wrong, I ſhall be againſt it, tho' warranted by

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'an endleſs ſtring of precedents. That we have 'a right in this houſe to adviſe the crown, that 'we have a right to inquire into the conduct of 'miniſters, as well to prevent miſchief as to pu-'niſh it, is admitted; that we can in moſt caſes 'do neither, without having the moſt important 'ſecrets of government laid before the houſe, or 'before a ſecret committee, is indiſputable; and 'therefore, I ſhall always diſdain the maxim, 'that no papers ſuppoſed to contain any ſecrets 'of government ought to be addreſſed for by 'this houſe.

'For this reaſon, my Lords, I think, there is 'no occaſion for the amendment propoſed by the 'noble Lord that ſpoke laſt: I think it incon-'ſiſtent with the dignity of this houſe to agree 'to it. It is not the miſconduct of little under-'lings in office we are to inquire into and puniſh 'in this houſe: It is the miſconduct of chief 'miniſters. Whereas, if we agree to this mo-'tion with the amendment propoſed, it will be a 'ſtanding teſtimony upon our journals, that chief 'miniſters are too high for this houſe to meddle 'with; and if we ſhould ever begin to think ſo, 'we can then only detect the negligence or cor-'ruption of inferior officers, but the dangerous 'errors of chief miniſters muſt remain concealed, 'till ſome terrible misfortune or general diſtreſs 'involves them in the common ruin of their 'country.

'My Lords, it is generally ſuggeſted, and, I 'believe, there is ſome truth in it, that Mr. *Vernon* 'has in ſome of his letters complained of our 'conduct in general, ever ſince the war com-'menced, and that he has given his reaſons for 'thoſe complaints. As he is in, as he is well 'acquainted with that country where the war 'ought to have been moſt vigorouſly puſhed, 'thoſe letters are abſolutely neceſſary for our in-'formation:

'formation: We muſt have them before us, if 'we reſolve to do what the whole nation, I may 'ſay the whole world, expects from us. Theſe 'letters will, I am perſuaded, juſtify the motion 'which was made, but diſagreed to, at the end 'of laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, when we had the 'ſtate of the nation under our conſideration; 'therefore I muſt be againſt the amendment, for 'if it ſhould be agreed to, I ſhall, for the ſake 'of the honour of this houſe, be againſt the 'motion.'

Amendment agreed to.

The queſtion being put upon the amendment, it was carried without a diviſion; which occaſioned the following proteſt.

Diſſentient'

Proteſt upon it.

Becauſe we conceive thoſe reſtrictive words will prevent the houſe from receiving that information which we think abſolutely neceſſary: For if Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, in any of his letters, has given as his opinion (as it is generally believed he has) that with a moderate number of land forces he could have made ſuch important conqueſts in *America*, as would have brought our enemies before this time to ſue for peace, this houſe had, as we apprehend, a right to ſee ſuch letters, without which we conceive this inquiry can only tend to detect the negligence or corruption of inferior officers, and the capital errors of the miniſters themſelves may remain concealed.

Signed as before-------

A motion in the ſaid houſe for Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions.

On *Monday*, *December* 8, the Earl of *Sandwich* ſtood up in the houſe of Lords, and ſpoke to this effect:

Earl of *Sandwich*'s ſpeech and motion.

'My Lords,

'Altho' I cannot pretend to great experience, 'yet, if I know any thing of the conſtitution of 'our

'our government, when from all circumſtances 'that are publickly known, there ſeems to have 'been an error or neglect in the conduct of pub-'lick affairs, it is the duty of this houſe to make 'ſome inquiry into that error or neglect, in order 'to give advice to our Sovereign, and ſatisfaction 'to our country. That conduct may, upon a 'full information, appear to be right, but if at 'firſt view it appears to be wrong, every Lord 'in this houſe who is not let into the ſecret 'of affairs, has a right to deſire ſatisfaction; 'and if it be ſuch as is generally complained 'of, he is in duty bound to deſire an explana-'tion, when it can be had without doing a 'manifeſt injury to the publick. This is my 'way of thinking, and therefore I hope your 'Lordſhips will excuſe me, if the motion I am 'to make, ſhould be thought improper.

'It is now above a year and a half ſince repri-'ſals were reſolved on, and above a year ſince 'war was declared againſt *Spain*: When the re-'priſals were iſſued, every man in the kingdom 'foreſaw, except thoſe who ſhould have foreſeen, 'that a declared war would be the certain conſe-'quence of thoſe repriſals; and therefore every 'man in the kingdom, except the perſons con-'cerned in our adminiſtration, condemned that 'method of beginning hoſtilities. Even tho' 'we had ſuppoſed, that a declared war would 'not be the certain conſequence, yet conſidering 'the nature of our quarrel with *Spain*, the me-'thod of repriſals was the moſt improper we 'could take for obtaining redreſs. When a na-'tion has been no way injured, but in its pro-'perty, or in the property of its ſubjects, repri-'ſals may then be ſufficient for obtaining repara-'tion; but when a nation has been inſulted, and 'its moſt valuable rights not only invaded, 'but expreſly denied, an immediate declaration

'of war is the only proper remedy. In ſuch a 'caſe, to think of contenting ourſelves with re-'priſals only, was but a new pattern of that irre-'ſolute conduct, of which we have of late years 'given ſo many and ſuch deſtructive examples.

'As repriſals were not a proper method for 'putting an end to ſuch a conteſt, and as we 'might have foreſeen, that the certain conſe-'quence of repriſals would be a war, we ſhould, 'in my opinion, have begun hoſtilities by a 'declaration of war, and that declaration of war 'ſhould have been attended with immediate and 'vigorous attacks upon the enemy, in every 'part of their dominions, where we could either 'hurt them, or gain any advantage to ourſelves; 'for as we are a trading nation, our trade muſt 'ſuffer by every war we can be engaged in, and 'therefore we ought to begin and proſecute every 'war with the utmoſt vigour, in order to put an 'end to it with the utmoſt diſpatch. The right 'we are now contending for, is of the utmoſt 'conſequence to us: It is a right without which 'this nation cannot long remain in its preſent 'ſplendor and power; and therefore I hope we 'ſhall ſoon be able to eſtabliſh it, by obliging 'the enemy to acknowledge it in the moſt ex-'preſs terms, and not, as uſual, by a general 'confirmation of former treaties; but if by a 'languid proſecution of the war, we ſhould not 'be able to accompliſh this juſt and deſirable 'end, in a ſhort term of years, even this right 'which is now ſo valuable, may come to be of 'very little conſequence; for after we have in-'tirely loſt our trade and navigation, a freedom 'of trade and navigation will not be ſo valuable, 'as it is at preſent; and if we conſider the pre-'ſent circumſtances of *Europe*, if we conſider, 'that all our rivals in trade are in profound tran-'quillity, and at liberty to purſue their trade

'without interruption, whilſt ours lies expoſed to 'all the dangers and inconveniencies of war, 'what have we not to dread from a long conti- 'nuance under ſuch circumſtances? Our caſe is 'now very different from what it was during the 'war in Queen *Anne*'s reign: Many particular 'merchants might then ſuffer, but our trade in 'general could not ſuffer, nor could it be under- 'mined by any of our rivals, becauſe they were 'then engaged in war as well as we. If our 'merchants paid high freight and inſurance, our 'rivals then did the ſame: If our merchants loſt 'one cargo of goods bound to any foreign mar- 'ket, they got the better price for thoſe that 'ſafely arrived; but now they can expect no 'ſuch advantage: On the contrary, our mer- 'chants will be underſold by our rivals at all 'markets, and in all ſorts of goods; and conſe- 'quently, in this war our trade in general, as 'well as particular merchants, muſt ſuffer by the 'captures we lie expoſed to.

'If this, my Lords, had been duly conſidered 'by thoſe, whoſe duty it was to conſider it, 'ſurely the war would have been begun in a dif- 'ferent method; at leaſt, after it was declared, 'it would have been proſecuted in a different 'manner. I ſhall ſay nothing of what has been 'done, or rather what has not been done in the '*Weſt-Indies*: As that matter has already been 'fully explained in a former debate, I ſhall now 'confine myſelf intirely to the *Spaniſh* dominions 'in *Europe*, where, I think, we might have done 'much greater hurt to the enemy than we have 'done, or ſo much as attempted to do. Are the '*Spaniards* invulnerable in *Old Spain?* Is it im- 'poſſible to burn a ſhip in any of their harbours? 'Is it impoſſible to land and kill a chicken, or 'ſack a country village, upon any part of their 'coaſt? From our conduct in the war, one

'would really be apt to think ſo, if the contrary 'were not notoriouſly known. There are very 'few harbours in *Spain*, if any, which we might 'not have entered, and burnt every ſhip in the 'harbour; and with regard to their ſea-coaſts, 'except juſt in the neighbourhood of their forti-'fied towns or camps, we might have landed 'wherever we had pleaſed, and might have 'plundered and laid waſte the country for ſeveral 'miles together, before they could have brought 'a ſuperior force againſt us. I ſhall not ſay, 'that the nation, or that our troops could have 'got any immediate advantage by ſuch attempts; 'but by ſo doing, we might have ſo hurt the 'enemy, and haraſſed their country, as would 'have made them ſoon tired of the war; and 'this in its conſequences would have been a great 'advantage to the nation, by bringing the war 'to a ſpeedy, as well as honourable concluſion.

'Inſtead of this, my Lords, what have we 'done? We have been at the expence of keeping 'a ſquadron upon the coaſts of *Spain* ever ſince, 'and for ſome time before the war began; but 'that ſquadron has all along remained in a moſt 'unaccountable ſtate of inaction. In my opi-'nion, it has rather ſerved to protect than injure 'the enemy; for as ſoon as we iſſued orders for 'repriſals, this ſquadron was ſtation'd in view of 'the bay of *Cadiz*, leſt any of their merchant-'ſhips ſhould venture out, and thereby expoſe 'themſelves to the danger of being taken by our 'men of war or cruiſers. I ſhall not ſay that 'this was really the deſign of placing our ſqua-'dron in that ſtation; but if we conſider thoſe 'circumſtances that are known, it would ſeem 'to have been ſo: There was then in the har-'bour of *Cadiz* a fleet of merchant-ſhips full 'loaded, and almoſt ready to ſail for the *Weſt-'Indies:* There was likewiſe a ſquadron of men

'of

'of war not near fitted out. Our ſquadron continued in that ſtation till all the enemy's merchant-ſhips were unloaded and laid up; but as ſoon as their ſquadron of men of war was fit for proceeding upon any voyage, our ſquadrons all retired from *Cadiz*, ſome into the *Mediterranean*, and ſome to *Gibraltar*, without ſo much as leaving an advice-boat, ſo far as I have ever heard, to give them notice of the enemy's ſailing. Accordingly the enemy took advantage of the opportunity we had thrown in their way: Their ſquadron ſailed from *Cadiz* to *Ferrol*, and from thence, without the leaſt diſturbance, to the *Weſt-Indies*.

'My Lords, I do not ſay it was wrong to allow their ſquadrons to ſail. I think we ought from the very beginning to have given both their ſquadrons and merchant-ſhips full liberty to ſail out of their ports, ſince we were reſolved not to attempt any thing againſt them while they were there; but then we ſhould have taken all poſſible care to purſue or interrupt them as ſoon as they did ſail. We got hold, by great chance, of one of their men of war by allowing her to ſail out of port, which we ſhould never have done if we had followed our wiſe ſcheme of confining all their ſhips cloſe within harbour. I ſay by great chance, becauſe, I believe, it will not appear, that our intercepting the *Princeſſa* man of war was owing to any advice we had received, or any ſcheme we had formed. But we had not ſo good luck, nor indeed was it poſſible for us to have ſo good luck, with reſpect to the *Cadiz* ſquadron; becauſe we did not offer to purſue it, either in its paſſage from *Cadiz* to *Ferrol*, or from thence to the *Weſt-Indies*; and yet we had, I think, at that time, one ſquadron at *Gibraltar*, and another gone to do, I do not know what, at

'*Portmahon*; for ſuppoſe the *Spaniards* had a 'real deſign againſt that place, which, I believe, 'they never had, three or four men of war 'would have done as well for preventing it as 'ten times the number, becauſe the enemy could 'have no ſquadron to convoy their tranſports.

'I know, my Lords, it will be ſaid, that the 'protection of our trade in the *Mediterranean*, 'and the preſervation of our poſſeſſions in that 'part of the world, was of great conſequence to 'the nation, and that both have been ſecured 'by means of that ſquadron which we have kept 'in the *Mediterranean* and before *Cadiz*. But 'can this be an excuſe for our ſquadron's under-'taking nothing againſt the enemy? Are we to 'declare war againſt *Spain*, and then think of 'nothing but our own defence? If our ſquadron 'had burnt the ſhips in every harbour of *Spain*, 'if it had landed troops from time to time, and 'plundered and laid waſte their open coaſt from 'one end to the other, our poſſeſſions might 'have been equally well protected, our trade 'would have been much better protected, than 'it has been; for whatever may be ſaid by ſome 'gentlemen in the city, whoſe chief trade con-'ſiſts in making the moſt of the diſtreſſes of 'their country, it neither has been, nor will be 'ſaid by any number of real traders, that either 'in the *Mediterranean*, or upon the coaſts of '*Portugal*, our trade has been ſo well protected 'as it ought, and might eaſily have been, againſt 'ſuch a nation as *Spain*, which has not above 'two or three ports where their privateers could 'put into and remain with any ſafety, if we 'were to make the beſt uſe of that power which 'God Almighty has put into our hands.

'But whatever errors we may have committed, 'whatever neglects we may have been guilty of, 'with regard to our conduct in the *Mediterranean*,

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'or upon the coaſts of *Spain*, I am far from imputing them to the gentleman who has the command of our ſquadron in that part of the world. From that gentleman's character in life, from the whole tenor of his former behaviour, I muſt ſuppoſe, that he would willingly have acted for the honour and advantage of his country, to the utmoſt of his power, that for this purpoſe he would have ventured his life with pleaſure, and therefore I muſt impute the whole of our miſconduct to thoſe who gave him his inſtructions. In their favour their is nothing to plead: From their character in life, from the whole tenor of rheir former behaviour, it muſt be ſuppoſed, the whole nation does ſuppoſe, their inſtructions were ſuch as no brave man could receive with pleaſure, as every true *Britiſh* commander would peruſe with indignation. This, I ſay, my Lords, is the opinon that generally prevails without doors. If there be any foundation for it, your Lordſhips muſt grant, that the conduct of thoſe who gave ſuch inſtructions ought not only to be inquir'd into, but cenſured: If there be no foundation for it, your Lordſhips ought, I think, to make an inquiry into the affair, that the adminiſtration may be juſtified, and that the nation may know, that our inactivity in the *Mediterranean*, and upon the coaſts of *Spain*, was not owing to any neglect, timidity or treachery in us, but to the new and ſurprizing activity and vigilance of the enemy, who had ſo fortified all their harbours and their extenſive coaſt, that it was impoſſible for us to think of attacking them any where with ſucceſs.

'For this reaſon, my Lords, I think myſelf obliged, and therefore ſhall beg leave to move your Lordſhips to order, "That copies of the "ſeveral inſtructions given to Rear-Admiral *Had-*

" *dock*, from the time of his ſailing from *England* " in the year 1738, to the 24th of *June* laſt, be " laid before this houſe." This, my Lords, is ' my motion, and I hope it will not be thought ' improper or unſeaſonable. I am ſure the ſame ' objection cannot be made to it, that was made ' againſt calling for Admiral *Vernon*'s inſtructions; ' for, I am convinced, it will not be ſaid, that ' any expedition againſt the enemy in *Europe* has ' ever been ſo much as deſign'd, and much leſs, ' that Admiral *Haddock* has ever had inſtructions ' for any ſuch purpoſe. From this motion, ' therefore, there cannot be the leaſt danger of ' divulging any of the ſecrets of our govern- ' ment; and by having all thoſe inſtructions laid ' before us, we ſhall have an opportunity, I hope, ' of vindicating our adminiſtration againſt thoſe ' ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes, that are now ſpread ' over the whole nation; from whence, I cannot ' but expect the concurrence of all thoſe that ' are their friends, and from that concurrence, I ' think, I have good reaſon to expect ſucceſs in ' my motion.'

This motion being ſeconded by the Earl of *Halifax*, the next that ſpoke was the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s ſpeech.

' My Lords,

' If I could join in opinion with the noble ' Lord, that what he propoſes could no way ' tend towards divulging the ſecrets of the go- ' vernment, I ſhould, for the reaſon he has giv- ' en, moſt heartily concur with him in his mo- ' tion; but in this particular I differ from him, and ' therefore, for the ſake of the publick, which I ' ſhall always prefer to the intereſt of any private ' man, and even to my own intereſt or curioſity,

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'I must give my negative to his motion. Whether there have been any designs formed for attacking the enemy in *Old Spain*, for burning the ships in any of their harbours, or for making a descent upon any part of their coasts, I shall not pretend to determine; but this I am sure of, that a design has been formed, and hitherto prosecuted with as much success as could be expected, for protecting our trade, and securing our possessions in the *Mediterranean*; and as the proper methods for effecting these necessary ends must be supposed to have been prescribed to Admiral *Haddock* in his instructions, I must think it would be very improper to publish those instructions, which would be the effect of their being laid before this house; because the enemy would thereby learn how to evade all the measures we can take, either for the protection of our trade, or the security of our dominions.

'I shall grant, my Lords, that the people in all countries, and in this more than any other, are fond to hear of sieges, battles, and blood-shed, and apt to imagine, that there is nothing too difficult for their fleets and armies to undertake; and therefore they are very apt to complain, when their warmest expectations are not answer'd. From hence there may, perhaps, be a clamour amongst the unthinking and ignorant populace against our conduct in this war, because it has not been attended with so much slaughter and devastation, as they expected; but to those who know and consider the situation and conduct of the enemy, this can be no ground of complaint. If we had to do with an enemy, that would give us a fair meeting, either at land or sea, our populace might have been diverted with battles, and, I hope, with victories; but the *Spaniards* are too

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'ſenſible of the ſuperiority of our ſtrength, to 'give us an opportunity of attacking them any 'where upon equal terms, eſpecially in *Europe*. 'They have fortified all their harbours, at leaſt 'all thoſe harbours, where there are any ſhips 'worth burning, in ſuch a manner, that our 'ſquadrons cannot, without great danger, ap-'proach them by ſea; and to attack them by 'land, we muſt ſend a greater army to *Spain*, 'than what we have now on foot; for every one 'knows, that in *Spain* they have a ſtanding army 'much more numerous, than that we have at 'preſent in *Great-Britain*.

'From this ſingle conſideration, your Lord-'ſhips may ſee the reaſon of the complaints 'without doors, and how eaſy it would be for 'our miniſters to juſtify their conduct, if they 'had a mind to lay all proper materials before 'you; but this they know, would make ſuch 'diſcoveries, as would be attended with great 'prejudice to the publick; and therefore I muſt 'look upon their patience, under this heap of 'ſcandal they are ſo induſtriouſly loaded with, 'as a moſt ſignal piece of ſelf-denial. It is a 'ſort of ſacrifice they at preſent make to the 'good of the publick; and I ſhall never, by any 'act of mine, divert them from making that ſa-'crifice, or compel them to ſacrifice the good of 'the publick to their immediate juſtification.

'I am far from ſaying, my Lords, that any 'deſigns have, or have not been formed, for 'making an attack upon the enemy in *Old Spain*; 'but this I am ſure I may ſay, that ſuch deſigns 'either have or have not been formed, and in 'either caſe it would be improper for us to call 'for Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions. If ſuch de-'ſigns have been form'd, we muſt ſuppoſe, that 'Admiral has had inſtructions relating to them; 'and as they have not yet been executed, the

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'publiſhing of thoſe inſtructions would certainly 'prevent its being ever poſſible to execute them 'hereafter; therefore, in this caſe, it muſt be al-'low'd, that our calling for theſe inſtructions 'would be both improper and dangerous. On 'the other hand, ſuppoſe no ſuch deſigns have 'ever been formed; ſuppoſe it ſhould appear, 'that our Admiral had no inſtructions relating 'to any ſuch deſigns; if thoſe inſtructions ſhould 'be made publick, it will lay our miniſters under 'the fatal neceſſity of publiſhing all the private 'informations they have had from *Spain*, relating 'to the harbours, fortifications, people, and troops 'of that kingdom, in order to juſtify their not 'having form'd any ſuch deſigns; and perhaps 'likewiſe, the perſons names who gave them 'theſe informations, in order to ſhew, that they 'were ſuch as might be depended on; and I 'ſhall leave to your Lordſhips conſideration, 'whether it would be proper to lay the admini-'ſtration under ſuch a fatal neceſſity, in the time 'of an open war between the two nations.

'My Lords, I am very little capable of giving 'my opinion about the nature of fortifications, 'and the probability of ſucceſs in attacking any 'fortified place; but this I will ſay, that by the 'inſtructions given to our Admiral, we could 'determine no ſuch queſtion. For this purpoſe, 'we muſt have a plan of the fortifications laid 'before us, and muſt examine the moſt ex-'pert engineers, as to the ſeveral forts and foibles 'of the place; and a publick inquiry of this 'ſort would not, I think, be prudent, *pendente* '*bello*, and before any attack has been made 'upon the place: Yet it muſt be allowed, that 'without ſuch an inquiry we could neither 'juſtify nor condemn our adminiſtration, for not 'having formed and executed ſuch a deſign; 'and I ſhall always think it more excuſable in a

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'miniſter, to run the riſk of having his conduct 'cenſured for not forming and executing a dange-'rous deſign, than for his having formed ſuch a 'deſign, and failed in the execution; becauſe 'in the former caſe, his miſconduct can be at-'tended with no expence, nor any great miſ-'fortune; whereas in the latter, his miſconduct 'may be attended with great expence to his 'country, and with the blood of thouſands of 'the braveſt of his countrymen.

'With regard therefore to our attempting to 'burn and deſtroy the enemy's ſhips in their 'harbour, I ſhall ſay no more but this, my 'Lords, that, I believe, thoſe who are concerned 'in our adminiſtrarion, have as good information, 'and are perhaps as good judges as any Lords 'in this houſe can pretend to be; and as they 'have not yet attempted any ſuch thing, I muſt 'believe it either impracticable, or not worth 'the riſk and expence. But with regard to ma-'king a deſcent upon their coaſt, and plundering 'and laying waſte the open country, I muſt firſt 'obſerve, that no ſuch thing could be done, 'without ſending a body of land forces thither 'for that purpoſe; and this we could not do 'till we had augmented our army ſo as to be 'able to ſpare ſuch a body of land forces, 'without endangering our ſafety at home, 'and without delaying our preparations for 'puſhing the war in the *Weſt-Indies*, where, I 'believe, your Lordſhips will allow it ought to 'be puſhed with the moſt vigour. Therefore, 'if there has been any failure upon this head, it 'is not to be imputed to thoſe in the admini-'ſtration, but to thoſe who have for many years 'oppoſed our keeping up any greater number of 'troops than was abſolutely neceſſary for our 'ſecurity in time of peace.

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'To this, my Lords, I muſt add another obſervation, which will ſhew the inconſiſtency of ſome peoples way of arguing. In all debates upon the army, of which I have heard a great many, it has been continually inſiſted on by thoſe that argued againſt the army, that our militia alone, without the aſſiſtance of any regular troops, would be able to repel any invaſion made upon us with five or ſix thouſand foreign veterans: Whereas in this debate, the militia of *Spain* ſeems to be of no account: We have nothing to fear from them; and therefore, if we ſhould land a body of regular troops upon their coaſt, we might plunder and lay waſte the country, and might reimbark without oppoſition or danger; becauſe they could not ſoon bring a ſuperior body of their regular troops againſt us. Now, my Lords I ſhould be glad to know why there is ſuch a difference between the militia of *Great Britain* and the militia of *Spain*. I ſhall readily admit, that our common men have generally more perſonal bravery than the common men of *Spain*; but, I believe, they are pretty equal as to diſcipline; and it is well known, that when armies engage, it is not the perſonal bravery of individuals, but the diſcipline of the troops in general, that gives the advantage and ſecures the victory. Therefore, if the militia of *Spain* are as formidable as the militia of *Great Britain*, we could expect no great advantage, nor could we do the enemy any great hurt, by landing five or ſix thouſand regular troops in their country; and, I believe, no man will ſuppoſe, we ought to employ any greater number for that purpoſe.

'From theſe conſiderations, my Lords, I am apt to ſuppoſe, that in ſending a ſquadron to the *Mediterranean*, we had no other deſign than that of protecting our trade, and ſecuring

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'our poſſeſſions, in that part of the world. For 'this purpoſe it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend 'ſuch a ſquadron as was ſuperior to any the 'enemy could ſend out againſt us; and what-'ever expence the nation may thereby have been 'put to, your Lordſhips muſt grant, it was ne-'ceſſary. I can therefore ſee no reaſon you have 'for calling for Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions, 'or for making any inquiry relating to that 'ſquadron; ſince it has not been complained 'of even without doors, that our trade or our 'poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean* have heen any 'way neglected. As to the enemy's ſquadron 'eſcaping from *Cadiz*, and afterwards from *Fer-'rol*, it occaſioned no misfortune to this nation, 'and it may be imputed to ſo many accidents, 'that, I think, it argues a want of charity to 'impute it to a bad deſign, or to a miſconduct, 'in any perſon concerned in our government. 'Every one knows, that Admiral *Haddock* was 'then ſailed up the *Mediterranean*, to prevent the 'execution of a deſign that had actually been 'formed againſt our iſland of *Minorca*; and ne-'verthelefs, if I have been rightly inform'd, the 'enemy's ſquadron from *Cadiz* might probably 'have been intercepted, or met with at ſea, if it 'had not been for an accident which happened 'with regard to ſome orders ſent out upon that 'occaſion.

'As I have now, I hope, my Lords, given 'ſufficient reaſons for my diſagreeing to the no-'ble Lord's motion, I ſhould have given you 'no more trouble at this time, if the noble 'Lords who have already ſpoke in this debate, 'had confined themſelves ſtrictly to the queſ-'tion before us; but in this debate, as well as 'moſt others, ſeveral matters of a foreign na-'ture have been mentioned, and found fault with, 'and therefore I hope your Lordſhips will give

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'me leave to ſay ſomething in vindication of 'what I have always, and ſtill do approve of. 'I ſhall grant, that the *Spaniards* had conteſted 'ſeveral rights of great conſequence, which we 'had a juſt title to, and likewiſe, that they had 'uſurped or pretended to ſome rights, which 'they had no title to; but if theſe conteſts and 'pretenſions had been attended with no real in-'jury, they would never have afforded a ſuffici-'ent reaſon for our declaring war, or commit-'ting hoſtilities; for it often happens, that two 'nations have mutual pretenſions, which neither 'will expreſsly give up, and yet while theſe pre-'tenſions are allow'd on both ſides to lie dor-'mant, neither of 'em take occaſion from thence 'to declare war againſt the other. But this was 'not the caſe between us and the *Spaniards*: They 'would not allow their pretenſions to lie dor-'mant: They would exerciſe the rights they 'pretended to; and thereby occaſioned many 'grievous loſſes to the ſubjects of this nation. 'Theſe loſſes, and a poſitive denial of reparation, 'made repriſals on our ſide abſolutely neceſſary; 'but they did not make a declaration of war ab-'ſolutely neceſſary; becauſe by treaty between 'us it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that in ſuch caſes 'the party injured might make repriſals, and 'that ſuch repriſals ſhould not by the other ſide 'be conſider'd as a rupture, or cauſe of war. 'Now if we had, by means of repriſals, obtained 'full reparation for all our loſſes, and *Spain* had 'given over exerting the conteſted rights ſhe 'pretended to, we ſhould not, I think, have had 'the leaſt occaſion to declare war; becauſe we 'might have continued on both ſides to allow 'our conteſted pretenſions to lie dormant, as 'long as neither ſide ſuffered by ſuch pretenſions; 'and therefore I muſt think, that we were in 'common prudence obliged to try firſt what

'could

'could be done by way of repriſal; for ſurely a 'war, eſpecially againſt *Spain*, is to be avoided, 'if poſſible.

'But beſides this, my Lords, there was ano- 'ther reaſon for our entering into a war againſt '*Spain* with all imaginable caution. We know 'how jealous all the trading nations of *Europe* are 'of *Spain*'s having any of her dominions in *Ame-* 'rica taken from her by us, or by any other 'neighbouring power, and how ready they would 'all be to fly to her aſſiſtance, if they ſaw her in 'any ſuch danger. If we had entered haſtily into 'the war againſt *Spain*, and had at once ſent a 'ſtrong ſquadron with a great body of land forces 'to the *Weſt-Indies*, the other powers of *Europe* 'would probably have imagined, that we were 'directed by ambitious views, and that we intend- 'ed to ſtrip *Spain* of all her ſettlements in *Ameri-* 'ca, which would certainly have united all the 'trading powers of *Europe* againſt us; and ſuch 'a confederacy, I believe, it will be granted, we 'were by all means to prevent. We were there- 'fore to take the moſt proper methods for con- 'vincing the other powers of *Europe*, that we had 'nothing in view but ſelf-defence, and the ſecurity 'of our trade and navigation in time to come; 'and in order to do this, it was neceſſary for us to 'try what could be done by repriſals, before re- 'ſolving to declare war, in order to ſhew that our 'declaration of war did not proceed from an am- 'bitious choice, but from mere neceſſity.

'I ſhall readily agree, my Lords, that our cir- 'cumſtances in this war, are more unlucky than 'they were in the war during Queen *Anne*'s reign. 'Our trade in general muſt neceſſarily ſuffer by 'our being engaged in war, when all our rivals in 'trade are in perfect tranquillity. This misfor- 'tune, peculiar to the preſent war, was foreſeen 'by thoſe who had the conduct of our publick

'affairs,

'affairs, and therefore they tried all poſſible means 'for avoiding a war, which they ſaw would be of 'ſuch pernicious conſequence to our trade and na- 'vigation in general. I was, indeed, ſurprized 'to hear this circumſtance ſo much as mentioned, 'by any Lord that finds fault with the meaſures 'which were taken, for preventing our being 'obliged to enter into the preſent war; for, in 'my opinion, it is a full juſtification of every ſtep 'taken for that purpoſe. It is true, it is likewiſe 'an argument, now we are engaged, for proſecu- 'ting the war with the utmoſt vigour; but nei- 'ther this nor any other argument can make us 'puſh the war with more vigour than we are 'maſters of; and if we apply a part of our vigour 'towards puſhing the war in one place, we muſt 'neceſſarily abate of our vigour in every other. 'Therefore, if we had attacked the dominions of '*Spain* in *Europe*, we muſt have attacked her do- 'minions in *America* with the leſs vigour; and I 'appeal to your Lordſhips, whether it would have 'been prudent or right in us to have done ſo.

'From all which I muſt conclude, my Lords, 'that the wiſeſt and beſt method for proſecuting 'this war, was to make our whole puſh againſt 'the *Spaniſh* dominions in *America*; and conſe- 'quently, we were to act upon the defenſive only 'in *Europe*, and to take all poſſible care to pre- 'vent its being in the power of the enemy to 'ſend any reinforcements or ſupplies to their do- 'minions in *America*. For this purpoſe, we were 'to prevent, as much as we could, the ſailing not 'only of their ſquadrons, but alſo of their flotas, 'and even their merchant-ſhips; and this has 'been done as effectually as it was poſſible for us 'to do, conſidering the boiſterous ſeas upon the 'coaſts of *Spain*, and the neceſſity of our ſqua- 'dron's retiring ſometimes into port, either to a- 'void a ſtorm or to refreſh the ſeamen. What

'occaſion therefore can we have for ſeeing Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions? If from thence it 'ſhould appear, that he had no orders to attack 'any of the dominions of *Spain*, we cannot upon 'that account find fault with them; and if he had 'orders for making any ſuch attack, but has not 'yet found an opportunity to carry them into execution, would it be proper, would it be prudent 'in us, to deſire ſuch inſtructions to be laid before 'this houſe?'

The Lord *Bathurſt* ſtood up next, and ſpoke to this effect:

'My Lords,

Lord *Bathurſt*'s ſpeech.

'The two noble young Lords who opened this 'debate, ſpoke with ſuch dignity, ſuch ſtrength 'of argument, and ſuch propriety of expreſſion, 'that I began to imagine myſelf in an *Old Roman*, 'an *Athenian*, or *Lacedemonian* Senate; and therefore I muſt return thanks to the noble Duke 'who ſpoke laſt, for he has brought me back to 'a *Britiſh* houſe of Peers. However, I hope he 'will excuſe me, if I do not entirely approve of 'the arguments he has been pleaſed to make uſe 'of, for juſtifying the negative, he ſays, he is to 'give to this motion.

'I do not really know, my Lords, what the 'noble Duke means by the danger of diſcovering 'the ſecret methods, which our miniſters have in 'their great wiſdom preſcribed to Admiral *Haddock*, for protecting our trade and ſecuring our 'poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*. I cannot comprehend how there can be a ſecret in any method 'that can be preſcribed for that purpoſe, nor can 'I ſuggeſt to myſelf how the *Spaniards* could 'diſturb either our trade or our poſſeſſions in that 'part of the world, more than they have done, 'ſhould they be informed of every method we 'have preſcribed, or can preſcribe for preventing

'it. There is but one ſecret that I am afraid of 'the enemy's getting hold of, which is the ſecret 'of procuring ſuch inſtructions to our Admirals 'as muſt prevent their doing their duty to their 'country; and the beſt method for keeping this 'ſecret from the enemy is, to let our miniſters 'ſee, that the Parliament will, from time to time, 'make a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their conduct, and for 'that purpoſe require and inſiſt upon ſeeing the 'orders and inſtructions they give to our com-'manders, either by ſea or land.

'I ſhall admit, my Lords, that in all countries, 'the people, when they are engaged in war, ex-'pect to hear of battles and blood-ſhed: As they 'pay heavy taxes for ſupporting the war, and 'ſuffer many inconveniencies on account of it, 'they have a right to that expectation; becauſe 'the more hotly it is purſued, the ſooner it will 'be at an end. They do not like to pay for *Spit-'head* expeditions, nor for *Hounſlow* incampments; 'becauſe they know that ſuch war-like, though no 'war-making meaſures, render them the ſcorn of 'their enemies, and entail a perpetual expence upon 'them. The people of this country may, per-'haps, ſeem more fond to hear of ſieges and 'battles in time of war, than the people in any 'neighbouring country; but it is not becauſe they 'are really ſo, but becauſe they have as yet more 'freedom to declare their ſentiments. The peo-'ple in all countries have an equal right, and are 'equally fond, to hear of their money's being 'properly applied; and if it is, they muſt hear 'both of battles and ſieges, let the victory be on 'what ſide it will. Shall our people be told, by 'way of excuſe for our inaction, that the enemy 'will not meet us in open ſea, and upon equal 'terms? My Lords, we knew this from the be-'ginning. We knew the enemy neither would 'nor could dare to encounter us at ſea; and

'therefore, let the difficulty be never ſo great, we 'ought from the beginning to have reſolved to 'attack them at land; for unleſs we do ſo, the 'war will be everlaſting. They have no trade: 'They cannot therefore ſuffer by the continuance 'of the war: On the contrary, they will be 'gainers; becauſe they will always be able to take 'more of our merchant-ſhips than we can take of 'theirs, eſpecially if we never think of attacking 'and burning their ſhips in their harbours. We 'muſt therefore attack them at land, if we ever 'expect to ſee an honourable end of the war. 'This the people know, and this makes them ſo 'uneaſy on account of their not having yet heard 'of any ſuch attack being attempted.

'The complaints of the people are not there-'fore, my Lords, without foundation, and if they 'have any foundation, the patience of our mini-'ſter, under the load of reproach which increaſes 'daily, cannot be owing to any ſelf-denial, or to 'his regard for the publick good, but to a con-'ſciouſneſs that his conduct deſerves to be cen-'ſured, and certainly would be cenſured, if it were 'to be ſtrictly inquired into. I ſay, my Lords, 'our miniſter; for when I talk of conduct, when 'I talk of reproach, I muſt ſpeak in the ſingular 'number; becauſe the whole nation ſuppoſes we 'have a ſole conductor, and againſt him alone the 'reproaches of the whole nation are directed.

'But for God's ſake, my Lords, what can the 'publick good have to do with the not laying an 'Admiral's inſtructions before this houſe? Their 'being laid before this houſe, or a ſecret commit-'tee of this houſe, may often be of great advan-'tage, but never can be a prejudice to the publick. 'The only pretence for ſaying it may be of pre-'judice to the publick, is founded upon a begging 'of the queſtion. It is firſt ſuppoſed, that no-'thing can be laid before this houſe, without be-

'ing

'ing made publick; and from thence it is argued, 'that therefore no paper ought to be laid before 'this houſe, when the contents are ſuch as ought 'not to be made publick. Has this ſuppoſition 'ever been granted? Can it be granted by thoſe 'who know any thing of our conſtitution or 'forms of proceeding? When we appoint a ſecret 'committee, is it not to be ſuppoſed, that the ſe-'crets committed to their charge will be as ſacredly 'kept, as thoſe committed to his Majeſty's cabi-'net council? Therefore the laying of any papers 'before us, let them be of ever ſo ſecret a nature, 'can never be inconſiſtent with the publick good: 'It can never be inconſiſtent with the good even 'of a miniſter, unleſs his good be inconſiſtent 'with the good of the publick; and when this 'happens to be the caſe, I am ſure, it is not con-'ſiſtent with our honour, nor with our duty, to 'refuſe to call for ſuch papers as may diſcover 'that inconſiſtency.

'Having thus ſhewn, my Lords, that the pub-'lick good cannot be in the leaſt danger of ſuffer-'ing by this motion's being agreed to, almoſt 'every argument the noble Duke was pleaſed to 'make uſe of againſt it, muſt fall to the ground. 'One, indeed, I ſhall grant, is not affected by 'what I have yet ſhewn: His Grace was pleaſed 'to obſerve, *cui bono* will you call for theſe in-'ſtructions? for though from them it ſhould ap-'pear, that Admiral *Haddock* had no orders to 'make any attempt againſt *Spain*, you could not 'on that account find fault with them, becauſe no 'ſucceſs could be expected in any ſuch attempt; 'and as the ſending that ſquadron thither, has 'anſwered every other end, you can neither find 'fault with his conduct or inſtructions. For ſup-'porting this argument, his Grace endeavoured 'to ſhew, that we could neither burn the ſhips in 'any of the enemy's harbours, nor make a de-

'ſcent upon their open coaſt; and that their ſqua-
'dron eſcaped both from *Cadiz* and *Ferrol* by
'mere accident.

'My Lords, theſe are queſtions that cannot
'come properly before us, till we have the in-
'ſtructions now moved for; but after we have
'theſe inſtructions, we may then call for ſuch pa-
'pers as will enable us to paſs a judgment upon
'every one of theſe queſtions. In the mean time
'I muſt obſerve, that if we judge from experi-
'ence, we muſt ſuppoſe, it was very practicable
'to attack moſt of the harbours of *Spain*, with ſo
'much ſucceſs at leaſt, as to be able to burn every
'ſhip in it; and that it was ſtill more practicable
'to make a deſcent upon their open coaſt, and
'thereby do them a deal of miſchief.

'This I ſay, my Lords, we muſt ſuppoſe, if
'we judge from experience, becauſe we never yet
'attacked any of the harbours of *Spain*, nor made
'a deſcent upon any part of their coaſt, without
'doing them great miſchief; and though by over-
'ſight or miſmanagement we ſeldom had all the
'ſucceſs we expected, yet we never met with any
'great loſs, but retired in ſafety to our ſhips, as
'ſoon as we found it neceſſary, or perceived any
'danger approaching. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time,
'when our ſchemes were concerted with more
'wiſdom, and conducted with more vigour, than,
'I believe, they have ever been ſince, we actually
'took the town of *Cadiz*, and burnt, ſunk, or
'took every ſhip in their harbour; in which ex-
'pedition there were but ſeven thouſand men em-
'ployed; and I muſt obſerve, that we had then
'no ſtanding army, the troops employed being
'all new-raiſed men, without allowing them ſo
'much as one month to learn what is now called
'military diſcipline. Again, in Queen *Anne*'s
'time, the next Queen we had, and the next time
'this nation made a glorious figure in *Europe*, we

'attacked

'attacked the ſame place; and though by many 'pieces of miſmanagement on our ſide, which it 'would be eaſy to ſhew, we failed of ſucceſs with 'regard to the city and harbour of *Cadiz* itſelf, 'yet we did the *Spaniards* great damage, and our 'people got a great deal of plunder, at *Port St.* '*Mary's*; and the ſame fleet, in its return, made 'the famous and ſucceſsful attack upon *Vigo*, 'where we took and deſtroyed a great number of 'men of war and galleons.

'I am really ſurprized, my Lords, to hear it 'repreſented as impoſſible for us to burn the ſhips 'in any of the harbours of *Spain*. I have ſeen 'plans of moſt of their harbours: I have ſeen in 'particular ſeveral plans of the city and harbour 'of *Cadiz*; and according to them, according to 'all accounts I have had, it may, in ſome mea-'ſure, be called an open harbour: The entrance 'at the *Puntals*, which is the narroweſt part, is 'above a mile from land to land, ſo that it is im-'poſſible to ſecure it by a boom: They have no 'other way to prevent our entering it, but by 'ſinking ſhips in the channel; and this they will 'never do, unleſs they have certain information 'of our deſign, as they had in the late Queen's 'time. They have, indeed, two caſtles upon the 'north, and one upon the ſouth ſide of the *Pun-*'*tals*; but experience has taught us, what a vain 'defence caſtles are againſt ſhips of war, eſpecially 'when they have nothing to do but to paſs by, 'and need not come within half a mile of the 'caſtle; and within the *Puntals* there is a large 'open bay without one caſtle to annoy the ſhips 'that are in it; from all which I muſt ſuppoſe, 'that if Admiral *Haddock* had been properly pro-'vided, he might have burnt or taken all the 'ſhips in the harbour of *Cadiz*, which would 'have effectually prevented their ſquadron ſailing 'to *Ferrol* or the *Weſt-Indies*. Then as to the

'harbours of *Ferrol* and *Vigo*, the only two I can 'at preſent think of, that are, or may be defended 'by booms, our ſucceſsful attack upon *Vigo*, in 'the late Queen's time, ſhews how vain this de-'fence is againſt the royal navy of *England*, when 'our Admirals are furniſhed with proper inſtruc-'tions.

'With regard to our making invaſions or de-'ſcents upon the open coaſt of *Spain*, the noble 'Duke was pleaſed to talk of the militia of *Spain*, 'and to compare them with the militia of this 'kingdom. My Lords, they have no ſuch thing 'as militia in *Spain*; and their people have been ſo 'long diſuſed to arms, and ſo long cowed and ter-'rified by ſtanding armies, that they dare not look 'an enemy in the face. Thank God! this is not 'as yet the caſe with the people of this kingdom, 'though I do not know how ſoon it may be ſo, 'if we continue to neglect our militia as much, 'and keep up ſuch numerous ſtanding armies, as 'we have done of late years.

'But, my Lords, there is another very material 'difference between our making an invaſion upon '*Spain*, and their making an invaſion upon us: 'As we are ſuperior at ſea, the troops we land 'upon them may ſecure themſelves by retiring to 'their ſhips, and reimbarking, as ſoon as a ſupe-'rior force, either of regular forces or militia, 'comes againſt them; but if they ſhould land any 'troops in this iſland, or *Ireland*, they muſt either 'conquer the kingdom or die; for they will ſoon 'have no ſhips to retire to; and the fate of the '*Spaniſh* troops that landed, or were forced a-'ſhoar, in *Ireland*, after the defeat of their invin-'cible *Armado*, as they called it, will for ever 'prevent any *Spaniſh* troops being fond of landing 'in our dominions; for though the putting of 'thoſe poor men all to the ſword, was a prece-'dent I ſhall not recommend; yet it will ſhew to

'all foreigners, that unleſs they can conquer us, it 'is extremely dangerous to land amongſt us: As 'they can have no retreat, whilſt we are maſters 'at ſea, their lives muſt depend upon the lenity 'of our government.

'The noble Duke obſerved very juſtly, that 'nothing can make us act with more vigour than 'we are maſters of, that if we act with vigour in 'one place, we muſt abate of our vigour in every 'other; and that therefore, it was the height of 'wiſdom in us, to reſolve to act upon the defen-'ſive in *Europe*, in order to act with the more 'vigour upon the offenſive in the *Weſt-Indies*. 'My Lords, I ſhall allow, that theſe two pre-'miſes are right, but in order to make the con-'cluſion proper and juſt, there ſhould have been 'another, which is this, that the ſquadrons and 'armies we are to keep up for our defence, can 'never be employed for acting upon the offenſive 'in *Europe*; and this I can by no means grant. 'If we had ſent a body of eight or ten thouſand 'of that army which is thought neceſſary for our 'defence at home, to infeſt and make inroads up-'on the coaſts of *Spain*, and to aſſiſt in burning 'the ſhips in their harbours, as it would have 'been, nevertheleſs, upon a fortnight's call, and 'ready to be tranſported to any part of the iſland 'where there was moſt occaſion for it, it would 'have ſerved for our defence at home equally as 'well, nay, better than by being encamped at '*Hounſlow*, or any other heath in the kingdom. 'If Admiral *Haddock*'s ſquadron had been em-'ployed in making deſcents upon the coaſts of '*Spain* in the *Mediterranean* or about *Cadiz*, and 'burning the ſhips in thoſe harbours, would our 'poſſeſſions of *Gibraltar* or *Port Mahon* have 'been leſs ſecure, than by his remaining idle and 'inactive in thoſe ſeas? If our *Spithead* ſquadron 'had been ſent out to burn the *Spaniſh* privateers

'at

'at *St. Sebaſtian*'s, or their ſquadrons at *Ferrol*, or 'St. *Andero*, ſhould not we have been fully as ſe-'cure againſt an invaſion, as we were by their ly-'ing idle at *Spithead* or *Portſmouth*? Our inaction 'in *Europe* is not therefore owing to thoſe who 'oppoſed our keeping up unneceſſary, expenſive, 'oppreſſive, and dangerous armies in time of 'peace, but to thoſe who do not know how to 'make the proper uſe, either of armies or ſqua-'drons, in time of war.

'I muſt therefore conclude, my Lords, that if 'Admiral *Haddock* has had no inſtructions to act 'in an offenſive manner againſt the *Spaniards* in '*Europe*, or if he has been tied up by his inſtruc-'tions not to make any attempt againſt them at 'land, which I believe to have been the caſe, 'thoſe who gave him ſuch defective, or ſuch re-'ſtraining inſtructions, ought to be cenſured, if 'not puniſhed; and, conſequently, that we ought 'for this purpoſe to have his inſtructions laid be-'fore us. But ſuppoſe it could be ſaid, that we 'could find no fault with his not having had in-'ſtructions to act upon the offenſive: Suppoſe we 'could find no fault with his having had nothing 'in charge, but that of protecting our trade and 'poſſeſſions in that part of the world, and pre-'venting the *Spaniards* from ſending ſupplies or 'reinforcements to their ſettlements in *America*: 'Can it be ſaid, that theſe ſervices have been 'punctually and faithfully performed? Our poſ-'ſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*, my Lords, pro-'tect themſelves, and cannot be taken from us, 'but by treachery, whilſt we are ſuperior at ſea; 'but our trade, even in the *Mediterranean*, has 'ſuffered a great deal more than could have been 'expected from ſuch an indolent, and ſuch an im-'potent enemy: It could not have ſuffered ſo 'much, if Admiral *Haddock* had been either pro-'perly provided, or properly inſtructed for its de-

'fence;

'fence; for, conſidering his character, I cannot 'impute it to his imprudence or neglect. And as 'to the enemy's ſending ſupplies and reinforce-'ments to the *Weſt-Indies*, they ſeem to have had 'a permiſſion to do ſo: If their ſquadron had 'eſcaped from *Cadiz* or *Ferrol*, immediately after 'a ſtorm, which had drove our ſquadrons and 'cruiſers into port; or in the depth of winter, 'when it was not ſafe for our ſquadrons or crui-'ſers to be in the open ſeas, there might have 'been ſome excuſe for its eſcaping. But neither 'of theſe was the caſe: The *Spaniſh* ſquadron ſail-'ed from *Cadiz* about the end of *March*, when 'there had been no remarkable ſtorm at ſea for 'ſome time before; but Admiral *Haddock* had 'been ſent upon wild-gooſe chace up the *Mediter-'ranean*, and a ſquadron left at *Gibraltar*, with-'out any orders, it ſeems, to keep an eye towards 'Cadiz. And this very ſquadron ſailed again 'from *Ferrol* about the end of *July*, without our 'having ſo much as attempted to attack them in 'that port, without our having any ſquadron to 'intercept them or follow them, as ſoon as they 'ſailed out of port, and without our having a 'ſufficient ſquadron to way-lay them in the *Ame-'rican* ſeas.

'Surely, my Lords, there muſt be ſome neg-'lect, or ſome overſight, if not worſe, in this 'management. To tell us, by way of excuſe, 'that Admiral *Haddock* ſailed up the *Mediterra-'nean* to protect *Minorca*, or that an accident 'happened with regard to any orders ſent to him: 'This is the very thing complained of: It is the 'very thing we ought to inquire into; becauſe if 'he had been properly inſtructed, he would not 'have ſailed up the *Mediterranean* with his ſqua-'dron: He would have ſent only four or five 'ſhips there for protecting *Minorca*; and if he 'had been at firſt properly inſtructed, there would

'have

'have been no occaſion for freſh orders, and, 'conſequently, no accident could have happened 'with regard to them.

'If to ſave the publick money, ſufficient armies 'had not been raiſed, or a ſufficient number of 'ſhips had not been put in commiſſion, there 'would have been ſome excuſe. But the nation 'has been put to the expence of raiſing and main-'taining armies ſufficient for any expedition we 'could reaſonably undertake, and of fitting out 'ſquadrons more than ſufficient for all the pur-'poſes we had occaſion for. We have ſpared no 'expence in warlike preparations: Like a true 'poltron, we prepared a long ſword, but have 'been ſo careful of our defence at home, that we 'have never once dared to make a bold and vi-'gorous puſh againſt the enemy, either in *Europe* 'or *America*. Even the armament now ſent, I 'ſuppoſe, to the *Weſt-Indies*, I can expect no 'great ſucceſs from, conſidering the time and the 'opportunities the enemy have had to prepare for 'their defence, the troops we have employed up-'on that expedition, and ſeveral other bad omens, 'which have been obſerved almoſt by every man 'in the kingdom.

'I mention this, my Lords, becauſe I think no 'part of our late conduct foreign to the preſent 'debate. Every error in our late conduct is a 'corroborating circumſtance for prevailing with us 'to agree to this motion: It is an argument for 'our beginning to exert ourſelves in our high ca-'pacity of hereditary great council of the crown, 'and conſequently it is an argument for our call-'ing for every paper neceſſary for our information. 'Our beginning the war by the method of repri-'ſals was, for the ſame reaſon, moſt properly in-'troduced by the noble Lord who made you this 'motion. We had then, we have had ſubſiſting 'for almoſt this twenty years, a moſt juſt reaſon

'for

'for declaring war againſt *Spain*. The preten-
'ſions in diſpute between us are ſuch, on our
'ſide, as cannot be allow'd to lie dormant: We
'muſt navigate in the *American* ſeas; we muſt
'cut logwood in the bay of *Campechey*; we muſt
'gather ſalt in the iſland of *Tortugas*: It does
'not indeed ſignify much, whether the *Spaniards*
'expreſsly give theſe rights up by treaty, becauſe
'we find they have no regard to treaties; but as
'ſoon as they began to interrupt us, we ought
'to have declared war; and ſince they are not,
'we find, to be bound by treaty, we ought now
'to take or inſiſt on a real ſecurity.

'The danger of *Spain*'s being aſſiſted by any
'neighbouring power, or the danger of our be-
'ing involv'd in a war with *Spain*, when our ri-
'vals in trade were at liberty to purſue their
'trade without interruption, was ſo far from be-
'ing a reaſon for our continuing our tedious ne-
'gotiations, that it ought to have made us neg-
'lect no opportunity of putting an end to them
'by a declaration of war, when we found our-
'ſelves in ſuch circumſtances, as not to be ex-
'poſed to theſe dangers. By the behaviour of
'the *Spaniards* ſoon after the treaty in 1721, we
'might have foreſeen, that it would be at laſt
'abſolutely neceſſary for us to beat them into
'good manners; and can it be ſaid, that ſince
'that time we have had no opportunity of at-
'tacking *Spain*, when we knew, that no neigh-
'bouring power could aſſiſt her; or when we
'knew, that our chief rival in trade could not
'purſue her trade without interruption? My
'Lords, we let ſlip ſeveral excellent opportuni-
'ties for doing ourſelves juſtice againſt *Spain*,
'and by that means we were forced by a moſt
'fatal neceſſity, to have recourſe to arms at the
'moſt inconvenient time we could chuſe for
'that purpoſe; and what was ſtill worſe, when

'we

'we found ourſelves reduced to this fatal ne-
'ceſſity, inſtead of beginning the war with vi-
'gour, and obtaining ſome ſignal advantage over
'the enemy, before they could prepare for their
'defence, and before any neighbouring power
'could give them aſſiſtance, we began it in a
'method from which we could not ſo much as
'hope for any advantage, a method which could
'ſerve for nothing but giving the enemy timely
'notice to prepare for their defence, and their
'friends timely notice to prepare for their aſſiſt-
'ance.

'If ſuch management does not make your
'Lordſhips think, that it is now high time for
'you to interpoſe with your advice to your So-
'vereign, and for that purpoſe, to call for all pa-
'pers neceſſary for your information, I am afraid,
'no ſort of management ever will; and, there-
'fore, I ſhall conclude with this melancholy ob-
'ſervation, that if this motion is not agreed to,
'it will, I am afraid, be too generally thought,
'that the King can never expect any benefit
'from your advice, the nation can never expect
'any relief from your inquiry. You may here-
'after give advice, but that advice will, without
'doors, be ſuppoſed to be ſuch as is preſcribed
'by the miniſter: You may hereafter inquire,
'but that inquiry will be ſuppoſed to be ſuch as
'is directed by the miniſter: This is what I
'dread; and therefore, to prevent, as far as I
'can, an opinion ſo unworthy of this houſe,
'from gaining any ground without doors, I ſhall
'moſt heartily concur in this motion.'

The next ſpeaker in this debate was the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, whoſe ſpeech was to this effect.

'My

'My Lords,

'The chief queſtion in this debate, as it muſt be in all debates of the ſame nature, is, whether it would be proper, in the heat of a war, to lay before this houſe, or even a ſecret committee appointed by this houſe, all the ſecrets that relate to the conduct of the war; and this queſtion muſt, I think, be determined in the negative, if we have any regard to the example of all the great princes, generals, or miniſters, that ever were in this or any other country. I am not to impeach or doubt of the fidelity or ſecrecy of any Lord, or of any number of Lords of this houſe; but I may ſay, it has always been look'd on, as an eſtabliſh'd maxim, that the fewer a ſecret of importance is communicated to, the ſafer it will be kept. An affair of this kind may, perhaps, be as ſafely communicated to a ſecret committee of this houſe, as to his Majeſty's cabinet council; but how are we ſure, that Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions have been communicated to his Majeſty's cabinet council? From what happened in a late debate, we are, I think, to preſume they have not; for two noble Lords, who were both of his Majeſty's cabinet council, then declared, they had not ſeen Admiral *Vernon*'s inſtructions; and his Majeſty may, I think, very probably, becauſe very wiſely, have reſolved to keep Mr. *Haddock*'s inſtructions as private as he did Mr. *Vernon*'s. We are not to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty's having taken ſuch a reſolution, proceeded from any diffidence in either of theſe two noble Lords, but from a maxim laid down by all wiſe Princes, that an affair which is deſigned to be kept as a ſecret, ought not unneceſſarily to be communicated to any one perſon whatſoever. Earl of *Cholmondeley*'s ſpeech.

'The

'The noble Lord ſaid, he could not ſuggeſt 'to himſelf any ſecret that could be contained 'in Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions, relating to 'the protecting of our trade or poſſeſſions in the '*Mediterranean*. My Lords, I think, it is very 'eaſy to ſuggeſt ſeveral ſuch ſecrets: We may 'ſuggeſt to ourſelves, nay, I think, it is highly 'reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he has directions how to 'apply for getting ſecret intelligence of all the 'ſchemes and deſigns formed by the enemy, 'for annoying either our trade or poſſeſſions in 'that part of the world. Theſe directions may 'contain the names of the perſons he is to apply 'to, and the methods by which he is to carry 'on a correſpondence with them; and if he has 'any ſuch directions, I am ſure, it would be ve-'ry imprudent in us to do any thing that might 'poſſibly occaſion a diſcovery.

'Suppoſe, my Lords, we ſhould appoint a 'ſecret committee; if that committee ſhould 'conſiſt of ſuch Lords, as are known friends to 'the adminiſtration, their report would give no 'ſatisfaction to thoſe that complain of our con-'duct, nor would it any way tend to remove the 'ſuſpicions that are ſaid to be without doors; 'and if that committee ſhould conſiſt of ſuch as 'are ſuppoſed to be no friends to the adminiſtra-'tion, I ſhall be far from ſaying, that any of 'them would, out of hatred or envy to our mi-'niſters, diſcover the ſecrets of our government 'to the enemy; but if thoſe ſecrets ſhould after-'wards be found to have been diſcovered, it 'would bring them under a very great ſuſpicion.

'Beſides this, my Lords, we ſhould conſider, 'that whatever we do in ſuch a caſe, would be a 'precedent, which the other houſe would cer-'tainly follow: They would likewiſe appoint a 'ſecret committee, and in imitation of ours, that 'committee would probably conſiſt of thoſe that

'were

'were known to be the greateſt enemies to the 'adminiſtration: They would inſiſt upon all 'thoſe papers being laid before their committee, 'that had been laid before the committee of this 'houſe. His Majeſty would be obliged to com- 'ply with their requeſt; and this might be of 'the moſt dangerous conſequence in our preſent 'circumſtances. We may anſwer for the mem- 'bers of our own houſe; we may aſſure our- 'ſelves, that none of them would give ſuch 'ſcope to their reſentment, as, out of envy or 'hatred to our miniſters, to betray the ſecrets of 'our government; but I am ſure, I ſhall not, I 'do not believe any of your Lordſhips will, an- 'ſwer for all the members of the other houſe. 'The paſſions of ſome men are ſo violent, that 'the ſafety, ſucceſs, or proſperity of their coun- 'try is but a ſlender barrier, when they have an 'opportunity of ſatisfying their reſentment or 'revenge, by breaking thro' that barrier. There- 'fore, however ſafely the ſecrets of the govern- 'ment may be committed to a few members of 'this houſe, I ſhall be againſt our making a pre- 'cedent for the other houſe's inſiſting upon the 'ſame confidence, unleſs I hear better reaſons 'than have as yet been urged in favour of this 'motion.

'My Lords, it is much eaſier to criticiſe and 'find fault with a good poem, than to write as 'good a one; ſo, I believe, it is much eaſier to 'find fault with the conduct of the preſent war, 'than to conduct it in as cautious, wiſe, and 'ſucceſsful a manner as it has been. We have 'not, 'tis true, as yet made any conqueſts upon 'the enemy; but the reaſon aſſigned is, I think, 'a good reaſon: We were, according to all the 'rules of prudence, obliged to provide for our 'defence at home, before we could think of at- 'tacking the enemy abroad; and our having

'carefully done ſo, is the reaſon, that we now 'only hear of the war: If we had done other-'wiſe, we ſhould, probably before now, have 'ſeen and felt it: If we had not kept a good 'army in continual readineſs at home; if we had 'not kept a good ſquadron in continual readineſs 'in the channel, we ſhould, perhaps before now, 'have had a more potent enemy to deal with; 'and, inſtead of debating here about matters 'which I cannot think of any great moment, we 'ſhould have been in the field fighting for our 'liberties, our properties, our religion, and every 'thing that is dear to mankind; for if by the 'neglect or imprudence of our miniſters, a fo-'reign army had been landed amongſt us, I am 'convinced, every lay Lord in this houſe would 'willingly have taken up arms in defence of his 'King and country: Nay, I believe, ſome of 'the reverend Bench would have follow'd the 'example of their predeceſſors, when they found, 'that their religion was no longer to be defended 'by the pen, but by the ſword.

'We know, my Lords, the enemy cannot 'ſupport the charge of their government, much 'leſs the charge of the war, without a frequent 'intercourſe with their ſettlements in *America*: If 'we can prevent that intercourſe, or frequently 'intercept their returns from thence, they will 'ſoon be forced to make peace, becauſe it will 'be no longer in their power to make war. I 'cannot, therefore, be of opinion, that we ought 'to be raſh in making either our ſoldiers or our 'ſhips run their heads againſt ſtone-walls, eſpe-'cially in *Europe*, where it would be ridiculous 'in us to think of keeping poſſeſſion of any 'town or harbour, after we have taken it. But 'if our attacking *Spain* in *Europe* had been abſo-'lutely neceſſary, or if it had been the moſt 'proper and certain way of putting an end to

'the

'the war, it would have been madneſs in us to 'have expoſed ourſelves to the danger of being 'invaded at home, for the ſake of burning a 'few ſhips, or plundering a few country villages 'in *Spain*, eſpecially, conſidering what a com-'buſtion would have been raiſed amongſt us by 'the landing of a few regular troops; for they 'would certainly have been join'd by all the diſ-'affected, whoſe numbers are not, I believe, ſo 'deſpicable as ſome people repreſent. This, I 'ſay, I believe, and I believe it, becauſe it is 'now become a common practice for people to 'cloak their diſaffection under the ſpecious pre-'tence of being diſcontented with the conduct 'of our publick affairs; but if they ſaw a fair 'opportunity, they would throw off all diſguiſe, 'and the motives of their oppoſition to our ad-'miniſtration would then appear in their true 'colours.

'I muſt therefore be of opinion, my Lords, 'that if Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions were laid 'before us, and it ſhould from thence appear, 'he had no orders to attempt any thing againſt '*Spain* by land, we could not upon that account 'make any objection to them. And if his orders 'were only to protect our trade and poſſeſſions 'in the *Mediterranean*, and prevent, as much as 'poſſible, the enemy's ſending any ſupplies to 'their ſettlements in *America*, or receiving any 'from thence, I think there has been no ſuch 'miſconduct in either of theſe particulars, as 'ſhould prevail with your Lordſhips to make an 'inquiry into it, at the riſk of preventing all fu-'ture ſucceſs in that part of the world, by a diſ-'covery of thoſe ſchemes that may have been 'concerted, and communicated to that Admiral 'for obtaining it. Some of our merchant-ſhips 'have, 'tis true, been taken, even in the *Medi-'terranean*, but this it is impoſſible to prevent,

'whilſt they venture to ſail without convoy; 'and this they will do as long as there is an 'inſurance-office in *England*; for tho' ſuch offices 'be a great convenience to trade, yet, I am con-'vinced, it is the occaſion of many more of our 'ſhips being taken than otherwiſe would, becauſe 'it encourages our merchant-ſhips to ſail without 'convoy; and as it is impoſſible to clear the ſeas 'intirely of privateers, if you had twenty times 'the number of cruiſers you have now at ſea, 'ſome of thoſe merchant-ſhips that dō venture 'to ſail without convoy, muſt neceſſarily be taken.

'With regard, my Lords, to the eſcape of 'the *Spaniſh* ſquadron from *Cadiz*, if I have been 'rightly informed, it was intirely owing to an 'accidental miſtake, as to the orders that were 'ſent to our Admirals; and that ſuch a thing 'ſhould happen, I am not at all ſurpriſed; for 'our ſea commanders are bound to follow their 'orders ſo ſtrictly and ſo literally, that it is ex-'tremely dangerous to depart from them in the 'leaſt article, even when they ſee, that by ſo 'doing, they may do ſome ſingular piece of ſer-'vice to their country. A famous hiſtorian has 'told us, that Sir *George Rook* reprimanded one 'of our captains very ſeverely for departing from 'his orders, tho' by ſo doing he, in a manner, 'ſaved the fleet of *England* then under the com-'mand of that Admiral. This makes it impoſ-'ſible to give ſuch orders or inſtructions at firſt, 'as to require no new explanation, when circum-'ſtances alter, or freſh advices arrive; and tho' '*Gibraltar* may perhaps be ſecure, without having 'a ſuperior ſquadron always at hand, yet no one 'will ſay, that *Minorca* is ſo. That iſland lies 'open to an attack, and if an army ſhould be 'once landed upon any part of the iſland, a ſqua-'dron could not then prevent *Port-Mahon*, and, 'conſequently, the iſland's being taken from us.

'We

'We muſt, therefore, prevent its being poſſible 'to land an army on the iſland; and four or five 'ſhips would not have been ſufficient for this 'purpoſe, becauſe they could not ſpread ſo as to 'prevent the enemy's ſtealing by them in the 'night time. Beſides, we were not abſolutely 'ſecure againſt a neighbouring power's taking 'part with *Spain*; and their ſquadron might have 'ſailed out, and might have convoyed the *Spaniſh* 'fleet to *Minorca*, before our ſquadron at *Gibral-* 'tar, or before *Cadiz*, could prevent it.

'The eſcape of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron from '*Cadiz* was not, therefore, owing to neglect or 'miſconduct, but to an accident which no human 'power could prevent; and its ſafety at *Ferrol*, 'as well as its eſcape from thence, was, I believe, 'owing to another accident of the ſame nature. 'Nay, this I am ſo fully convinced of, that I am 'ſurpriſed to hear our conduct in that particular 'found fault with, by any one who conſiders 'how long Sir *John Norris*, with a powerful 'ſquadron, (which was certainly deſigned for 'ſomething) was detained in the channel by con- 'trary winds.

'For theſe reaſons, my Lords, I cannot ſee 'ſo much as the appearance of any miſconduct; 'and without ſome ſuch appearance, I can ſee 'no reaſon for your inquiring into the late con- 'duct of our publick affairs, and, conſequently, 'no reaſon for your calling for the papers now 'moved for.'

The next that ſpoke was the Duke of *Argyll*, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance thus:

'My Lords,

'Whatever may be the queſtion in this debate, Duke of *Argyll*'s ſpeech. 'it is evident, from the oppoſition made to this 'motion, and a great many others of the ſame

' nature, that there is now a much greater confi-
' dence placed in miniſters than formerly. We
' ſeem now to form our opinions of the conduct
' of publick affairs by a ſort of faith, and not
' from examination or conviction: Nay, we ſeem
' reſolv'd never to examine into the conduct of
' any publick affair, let the appearances of miſ-
' conduct be ever ſo glaring; and if poſterity
' ſhould put as much faith in the wiſdom and
' uprightneſs of miniſters, as we in this age ſeem
' to do; if our ſucceſſors here ſhould allow
' themſelves to be governed by the maxims now
' laid down for our conduct in this houſe, I am
' ſure, there will be an end of all publick in-
' quiries, and conſequently of all parliamentary
' cenſure or puniſhments; unleſs, when the mi-
' niſter gives us leave, or perhaps directions, to
' inquire into the conduct of ſome unlucky
' wretch, who has happened to outlive the royal
' or the miniſterial favour.

' How we in this age come to have ſo much
' political faith, for I do not think we have im-
' proved much in our religious, I ſhall not pre-
' tend to account for; but with regard to this
' ſort of faith, I am afraid, my Lords, leſt in a
' ſhort time we adopt the antient religious max-
' im, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt*, I believe the mi-
' niſter to be wiſe and upright, becauſe it is im-
' poſſible he ſhould be ſo; which may be the
' caſe; for when the affairs of a rich, powerful
' and flouriſhing nation have, in a ſhort tract of
' years, been brought into the utmoſt confuſion,
' its revenues waſted or anticipated, its trade di-
' miniſhed and oppreſſed, its people render'd un-
' eaſy and diſcontented, its allies deſerted, and
' its honour inſulted, and all this without any
' ſignal misfortune or viſible cauſe, it is hardly
' poſſible its miniſter ſhould be wiſe and upright;
' and yet a gentleman far gone in our modern

' po-

'political faith may assign these very effects, as 'arguments for his believing the minister's coun-'sels to have been prudent and upright.

'I confess, my Lords, it is very hard to account 'for this most extraordinary sort of faith; but 'thank God! whatever it may do within, it does 'not as yet prevail much without doors, and its 'having of late years prevailed so much within, 'may perhaps proceed from our having been so 'long without making a strict inquiry into the 'conduct of any minister; for a chief or a prime 'minister stands in so elevated a station, that 'many are dazzled with the lustre of his charac-'ter, but when he is once brought to the bar of 'this house, that lustre generally appears to be 'nothing but tinsel, and the stuff or ground-'work then appears to be black and horrid. This 'I say, my Lords, is generally the case, when a 'minister's conduct is fairly brought under the 'examination of this house; but this can never 'happen in time to come, if the only argument 'made use of against this motion be allow'd to 'have any weight. It is very certain, we can 'never pretend to examine the conduct of any 'publick affair, without seeing and examining 'all the publick papers relating not only to that 'affair, but to every other publick affair that has 'any connexion with it; and if it should be re-'ceiv'd as a maxim for our conduct in this house, 'that we must never call for any papers, when 'the minister or his friends insinuate, that they 'contain important secrets of state, a discovery 'whereof would be of infinite prejudice to the 'publick, it is equally certain, that the minister 'will always make use of this pretence, when 'he is conscious, that his conduct has been such 'as cannot bear the light. The consequence is, 'that we must never inquire, but when the mi-'nister has a mind we should; and the conse-

'quence of this again is, that we muſt be the 'fartheſt from inquiring, when there is the 'greateſt occaſion for an inquiry, when per-'haps the very being of the nation depends up-'on a ſtrict and impartial parliamentary in-'quiry.

'I ſhall grant, my Lords, that an important 'ſecret will always be the more ſafely kept, the 'fewer it is communicated to; and I ſhall like-'wiſe grant, that our calling for papers of any 'kind might, probably, give occaſion to the 'other houſe's calling for the ſame: Nay, I 'ſhall grant farther, that if any of thoſe papers 'contained important ſecrets of ſtate, ſuch ſe-'crets might thereby come to be diſcover'd; 'but, I hope, it will not be ſaid, that they would 'certainly be diſcover'd, and I am very far from 'thinking there would be any great danger of 'a diſcovery. However, let the danger of 'ſuch a diſcovery be never ſo great, does not 'every one ſee, that this caſe, like moſt other 'caſes in politicks, is attended with inconve-'niencies on both ſides, and we muſt, as in all 'other caſes of the ſame nature, chuſe that ſide 'where the inconveniencies are the leaſt or the 'feweſt. To ſay, that this houſe muſt never 'call for any papers, which may poſſibly con-'tain ſecrets of ſtate, and conſequently muſt ne-'ver inquire into the conduct of any publick af-'fair, would be a direct and an immediate over-'throw of our happy conſtitution: On the 'other hand, to ſay, that this houſe may call 'for all papers neceſſary for our information, even 'tho' they be ſuch as may contain ſecrets of 'ſtate, is attended with this inconvenience, that 'the ſecrets of our government may thereby, 'peradventure, be ſometimes diſcover'd. Does 'not every one of your Lordſhips ſee the diffe-'rence between the inconveniences attending

'theſe

'theſe two maxims: By the former, we ſubject our-
'ſelves to a certain evil, and one of the greateſt
'evils that can befal us: By the latter, we ſub-
'ject ourſelves only to a danger, and that dan-
'ger is ſuch a one as may, from former expe-
'rience, be juſtly called chimerical; becauſe tho'
'this maxim has obtained from the very begin-
'ning of our conſtitution, till within theſe laſt
'twenty years, and tho' in purſuance of this
'maxim many papers of ſtate have been called
'for, and laid before this or the other houſe of
'Parliament, ſome of which muſt be ſuppoſed to
'have contained ſecrets of the utmoſt impor-
'tance, yet no ſecret of ſtate was ever thereby
'diſcover'd, at leaſt it does not appear, ſo far as
'I can recollect, that ever the nation ſuffer'd by
'any ſuch diſcovery. Can it therefore admit of
'a doubt, which of theſe maxims ought to be
'eſtabliſh'd? And if the latter is to take place
'in all our deliberations, I hope I ſhall hear no
'more of the ſecrets that may poſſibly be diſ-
'cover'd by our calling for papers, which we
'think neceſſary for our information, in order to
'enable us to inquire into the late conduct of
'our publick affairs.

'Your Lordſhips, I hope, will now ſee the
'queſtion that is really before you. It is not,
'whether it would be proper to lay before a ſe-
'lect committee of this houſe, all the ſecrets that
'relate to the conduct of the war; but whether
'you ought in this ſeſſion of Parliament to enter
'upon an inquiry into the conduct of the war;
'and when I conſider the honour and ſincerity of
'thoſe Lords that have declared their readineſs
'to enter into ſuch an inquiry, together with the
'weight they ſo deſervedly bear in this houſe, I
'cannot ſuppoſe, that ſuch a queſtion will admit
'of any diſpute. But leſt a ſcruple ſhould re-
'main with any noble Lord, whether or no we

'ought

'ought now to enter upon ſuch an inquiry, I 'ſhall beg leave to ſtate the uſual cauſes of an 'inquiry, and the intentions with which it ought 'to be undertaken and proceeded on. With 'regard to the cauſes, my Lords, we muſt care-'fully diſtinguiſh between an inquiry, and a di-'rect impeachment or accuſation; for tho' im-'peachments generally come from the other 'houſe, yet your Lordſhips all know, that any 'one of you has a right to riſe up in his place 'and impeach any man concerned in the admi-'niſtration, or any Lord in this houſe, of high 'treaſon, or high crimes and miſdemeanors; 'but ſuch an accuſation muſt always be founded 'upon ſome particular facts then ſet forth, and 'proof offer'd to be produced. This, I ſay, my 'Lords, is the caſe with regard to a direct im-'peachment or accuſation; but then with regard 'to an inquiry, it is always founded upon gene-'ral ſurmiſes, or the general appearance of things. 'When the people in general murmur againſt 'the meaſures of an adminiſtration, or when the 'affairs of the nation ſeem, without any viſible 'cauſe, to be in a bad ſituation, or when any 'particular affair ſeems to have been miſconduc-'ted or neglected, there is in every one of theſe 'caſes, a ſufficient cauſe for a parliamentary in-'quiry into the conduct of our miniſters; and 'conſequently, when theſe three concur, I will 'affirm, that whilſt we ſit here, we are difficient 'in our duty to our country, our Sovereign, and 'ourſelves, if we do not inquire ſtrictly and im-'partially into the conduct of our publick af-'fairs.

'That this is the caſe at preſent, muſt, I think, 'be granted by every Lord who knows any thing 'of the temper of the people without doors, of 'the preſent melancholy ſtate of affairs both 'abroad and at home, or of what we might and

'ought to have done in the war we are now engaged in. The people, my Lords, have long murmured againſt the meaſures of the adminiſtration. They murmured againſt their meaſures in time of peace, they now with equal reaſon murmur againſt their meaſures in time of war; and as to the ſtate of our affairs both at home and abroad, I will venture to ſay, they were never in ſuch an unlucky or dangerous ſituation; for which I ſhall grant there may be ſeveral cauſes aſſigned, but they are all ſuch as have derived their origin from the late weak counſels of this nation. Then with reſpect to the war, it has, I think, been miſconducted or neglected in every part of the world, and particularly in that part which the papers now call'd for relate to.

'It is ſurpriſing, my Lords, to conſider, that this nation has been put to the expence of maintaining a powerful ſquadron in the *Mediterranean* for two years and a half, without attempting any thing againſt the enemy. This ſquadron, I know, was at firſt ſent out upon that ridiculous pretence of giving weight to our negotiations; and accordingly when the convention was concluded, there were orders ſent for its returning home; but when our miniſters ſaw the reception their convention met with from the nation in general, they thought it neceſſary for their own ſafety to countermand thoſe orders; yet ſtill our ſquadron was to lie there as an uſeleſs burden upon this nation, and a harmleſs neighbour to *Spain*; and thus it continued even after our declaration of war; for except the taking of two or three ſhips, and a few barks, that ſquadron has done no manner of hurt to the enemy, nor ſo much as attempted to do them any manner of hurt.

'This

'This ſurprizing inactivity, my Lords, cannot 'be imputed to the gentleman who commands 'that ſquadron. From the known character of 'Admiral *Haddock* we muſt ſuppoſe, not only 'that he had no orders to make any attempt a-'gainſt the enemy at land, but that he had expreſs 'orders to the contrary; for though he was not 'provided with a proper force for acting offen-'ſively, yet he might have done ſomething with 'his ſhips and ſeamen alone, and without any 'land force. Had he, indeed, been provided 'with but fifteen hundred land forces, he might 'have landed and laid waſte many parts of the 'open country, and would have kept the whole 'coaſts of *Spain* in a continual terror, which would 'have contributed towards retrieving our character 'abroad, and towards making the enemy ſoon 'tired of the war. But inſtead of this, we have 'never yet ſent any force to that Admiral, for 'enabling him to undertake any expedition againſt 'the enemy; and how can we ſuppoſe, that he 'has orders for undertaking any ſecret expedition, 'when he is no way provided with what is ne-'ceſſary for that purpoſe?

'My Lords, I am from hence fully convinced, 'that if Admiral *Haddock*'s inſtructions were not 'communicated to his Majeſty's cabinet council, 'it was not becauſe of the danger of their being 'diſcovered to the enemy, but becauſe of the 'danger of their being diſcovered to this houſe, 'or, perhaps, diſapproved of by a majority of 'thoſe who had the honour to be of his Majeſty's 'cabinet council; for we are not to ſuppoſe, that 'every publick meaſure is approved of by them, 'becauſe we have ſometimes in this nation a cabi-'net council above that of the King's, in power, 'though not in character. Whilſt the Duke of '*Buckingham* was prime miniſter to King *Charles* I. 'he had a cabinet council of his own, a ſelect

'number

'number of his own creatures and tools, where 'every thing was reſolved on before its being laid 'before the King's cabinet council. It was 'brought there only for form's ſake, and care was 'taken not to have any one there, that would 'ſeriouſly and ſtedfaſtly dare to oppoſe any thing 'that had been reſolved on by the cabinet council 'of the prime miniſter.

'I know, my Lords, I do not ſpeak properly 'when, in talking of what happened in King 'Charles Iſt's time, I make uſe of the term cabi-'net council, becauſe it is a term of a much later 'date; for in thoſe days, beſides this houſe, the 'King had no other council, but that which we 'ſtill call the privy council, and of that council 'there was always a committee appointed to con-'ſider and take care of foreign affairs; but the 'reſolutions of that committee were not carried 'into execution, till they were approved of by 'the privy council: In that council there then ſat 'ſeveral great officers, ſuch as the Lord High 'Treaſurer, the Lord High Admiral, and others, 'who by their birth and quality, as well as by the 'importance of the poſts they enjoyed, added 'weight and dignity to the council of which they 'were members; but theſe high offices are now 'ſplit into commiſſions, and ſometimes granted to 'men who have neither birth, quality, nor cha-'racter, which is not done for the ſake of diſ-'patching buſineſs, (for every one knows, the 'whole buſineſs of the office is now chiefly direct-'ed by one, in the ſame manner it was formerly) 'but for the ſake of multiplying ſalaries and gain-'ing votes. This has very much derogated from 'the authority of that aſſembly, and is, I believe, 'the chief cauſe of their power being now almoſt 'entirely uſurped and exerciſed by what is called 'the cabinet council; but even what we now call 'the cabinet council has not always the power or

'influence

'influence they ſeem to have; for when one mini-
'ſter happens to get the ſole direction of all pub-
'lick affairs, the other members of the cabinet
'council, or at leaſt the majority of them, ſerve
'only to give a ſort of authority to what the mi-
'niſter has been pleaſed to reſolve on.

'Whether the inſtructions given to Admiral
'*Haddock* were drawn up by the advice of his
'Majeſty's cabinet council, or by the advice of
'one ſole miniſter, I ſhall not determine; but this
'I will ſay, it is impoſſible they can contain ſe-
'crets relating to any important expedition againſt
'the enemy, becauſe he was not, nor is yet pro-
'vided with a proper force for ſuch an expedition;
'and I think it hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe, they
'contain any directions about ſecret intelligence,
'or about carrying on a correſpondence with any
'perſons in *Spain*; for, I think, it is plain, that
'neither our miniſters here, nor our Admiral
'there, had any ſecret intelligence, otherwiſe the
'*Spaniſh* ſquadron could never have made its
'eſcape, firſt from *Cadiz*, and next from *Ferrol*,
'without our having any ſquadron in the way to
'intercept it. I really do not know what the no-
'ble Lord meant by giving our Admiral direc-
'tions how to get intelligence about the enemy's
'deſigns againſt our poſſeſſions, or our trade in
'the *Mediterranean*, becauſe I cannot ſuggeſt to
'myſelf any deſigns they could form againſt ei-
'ther, which might not have been eaſily prevent-
'ed without our being at one ſhilling expence for
'ſecret intelligence. With regard to *Gibraltar*,
'they could form no dangerous deſign againſt it,
'becauſe I really take it to be impregnable. There
'are but two ways of taking it from us, that is,
'by treachery or by ſtarving. Againſt the firſt,
'the moſt proper way to provide, is by this
'houſe's having always a watchful and a ſtrict eye
'over the conduct of our miniſters; and againſt

'the

'the laſt, we may eaſily provide, for ſurely it is 'eaſy for us to have always three or ſix months 'proviſions in the place, and in that time we ſhall 'always have an opportunity to ſend a ſquadron 'from *England* for its relief; for in order to take 'it by ſtarving, it muſt be block'd up by ſea as 'well as by land.

'With regard to *Port-Mahon*, indeed, I ſhall 'grant, it may be taken by a ſiege, if the enemy 'ſhould once land a ſufficient army in the iſland 'for that purpoſe; but then, if we have a ſqua-'dron in thoſe ſeas, they muſt ſend at once not 'only ammunition and all other things neceſſary 'for the ſiege, but they muſt alſo ſend proviſions 'for ſubſiſting their army during the ſiege; for 'though their army ſhould by ſtealth, or by acci-'dent, get into the iſland, they could expect no 'ſupply of proviſions after our ſquadron came up 'to prevent it. My Lords, if we conſider theſe 'difficulties: If we conſider that the *Spaniards* 'muſt land at leaſt ten thouſand men to conquer 'the iſland of *Minorca:* That this army muſt 'carry every thing, even proviſions, along with 'them: That their fleet for tranſporting this army 'might be intercepted in its paſſage by our men of 'war: That even after their landing, a briſk at-'tack from the ſeamen of a powerful ſquadron, 'aſſiſted by a ſally from the gariſon, might ruin 'their whole army, and of courſe make them all 'priſoners of war: I ſay, if we conſider theſe 'things, our fears about *Minorca* will appear as 'chimerical as our fears of an invaſion at home. 'This, indeed, has been the bane of our conduct 'during the whole courſe of this war: By chime-'rical apprehenſions and mere phantoms, we have 'been diverted from proſecuting the war in the 'manner we ought to have done. The *Spaniards*, 'I believe, were ſenſible of our timidity, or, per-'haps, had directions from hence: They made a

'feint

'feint as if they intended to invade us at home: 'They made a feint as if they intended to invade '*Minorca*: I have not ſo much as a ſuſpicion they 'were ſerious in either, and yet in both they ſuc- 'ceeded in what was their real view. By the firſt 'they prevented our ſending any land force to the '*Weſt-Indies* at the beginning of the war: By the 'ſecond they drew our ſquadron away from *Gi-* 'braltar, and by that means their ſquadron got 'ſafe from *Cadiz*.

'But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we had thought, 'that their deſign againſt *Minorca* was real, and 'ſuppoſe they had aſſembled a ſufficient army in '*Majorca*, with a train of battering cannon, mor- 'tars, bombs, ammunition, and every thing ne- 'ceſſary for a ſiege, together with proviſions for 'ſubſiſting their army during that ſiege, which, I 'am ſure, was very far from being the caſe, what 'occaſion had we to ſend our chief Admiral with 'a ſquadron to prevent their deſign? We knew, 'they had not ſo much as one man of war to 'convoy their tranſports; three or four men of 'war therefore would have been ſufficient to pre- 'vent their daring to put to ſea, or to diſperſe 'their fleet of tranſports, and ſink or take a great 'many of them, if they did. To tell us, that a 'fleet ſufficient for tranſporting ten or twelve thou- 'ſand men might have ſtole by our men of war in 'the night time, or in a fog, is very ſurprizing, 'eſpecially as we knew the port from which they 'were to ſail, and the very point to which they 'were to direct their courſe; for the iſland of '*Minorca* may juſtly be called a point in the terms 'uſual at ſea. Our meaſures in the proſecution of 'this war are really provoking; but I muſt ſay, 'my Lords, it is ſtill more provoking, to hear 'ſuch arguments made uſe of in vindication of 'ſuch meaſures.

'Our

'Our chief Admiral being thus gone from *Gibraltar* as well as *Cadiz*, and an inferior Admiral left there, we are next told, the *Cadiz* ſquadron eſcaped from thence to *Ferrol*, by an accidental miſtake with reſpect to ſome freſh orders ſent from hence. This, I know, my Lords, may very well be; for our orders and inſtructions are generally ſo perplex'd, that a miſtake may very probably happen. In *France*, their orders to their Generals and Admirals are always ſo plain and explicit, that they cannot be miſunderſtood; but in this country, our orders to our commanders, both by ſea and land, are generally drawn up with a view to the ſafety of our miniſters, let what will happen: For this reaſon, ſome doubtful expreſſions are uſually made uſe of, or ſuch as will bear a double meaning. If our commander ſucceeds in any expedition, our miniſters then plume themſelves in the ſucceſs; it was owing to the wiſdom of their inſtructions; but if our commander fails in the attempt, our miniſters then cry, he miſtook his orders, though the ill ſucceſs was perhaps intirely owing to ſome blunder or failure on their part. This was the caſe, I believe, with regard to Admiral *Vernon*; I believe his orders were very ambiguous; even he himſelf ſeemed to think ſo: Had he failed in his attempt upon *Porto Bello*, our miniſters, I am convinced, would have accuſed him of a raſh miſtake, and would have denied their having given him orders to make any ſuch attempt, though, if he had failed, his ill ſucceſs would certainly have been owing to their not having provided him with a proper force. This is now the caſe with regard to Admiral *Haddock*: The *Spaniſh* ſquadron made their eſcape, and therefore, this eſcape muſt now be imputed to an accidental miſtake with reſpect to orders. My Lords, if there was any miſtake, let us ſee where

'that miſtake lies; let us ſee whether it was not 'a miſtake, that can admit of no excuſe. If it 'was, I am convinced, it was not the Admiral's; 'for Admiral *Haddock* is known to be ſo much 'maſter of his buſineſs, that he could not be 'guilty of a groſs miſtake; and as little can it 'be ſuſpected to have been the miſtake of the 'other Admiral left at *Gibraltar*, whoſe experi-'ence and conduct have, upon former occaſions, 'been ſufficiently manifeſted.

'As for what has been mentioned in relation 'to Admiral *Rook*, we know, my Lords, the 'hiſtory from which it was taken. It is a ſtory 'of Biſhop *Burnet*'s in his hiſtory of his own 'times, and thoſe who have ſat in this houſe 'with that Prelate muſt know, he was a very 'credulous, weak man. I remember him, my 'Lords, in this houſe, and I likewiſe remember, 'that my Lord *Halifax*, my Lord *Somers*, and his 'other friends in the houſe, were always in a 'terror when he roſe up to ſpeak, leſt he ſhould 'injure their cauſe by ſome blunder. With re-'gard to what he ſays againſt Admiral *Rook*, I 'know I have heard it from thoſe that were pre-'ſent, that the greateſt part of it is a downright 'lie: The Biſhop, it is well known, was no 'friend to that Admiral; and therefore he eaſily 'gave credit, as he generally did in like caſes, 'to every malicious ſtory he heard againſt him.

'But this, my Lords, does not ſignify much 'with reſpect to the queſtion now before us: I 'took notice of it only in order to vindicate that 'Admiral's character from the malicious ſtories 'the Biſhop has recorded againſt him. I wiſh 'we had proſecuted this war with as much wiſ-'dom and vigour as we did the war we were en-'gaged in, when that Admiral commanded our 'ſquadrons. We then attack'd the enemy both 'by land and ſea; we attack'd them in every

'part

'part with vigour, and generally with ſucceſs; 'we undertook many expeditions; our orders to 'our Admirals then certainly contained many 'important ſecrets, yet, during the continuance 'of that war, ſeveral parliamentary inquiries 'were ſet on foot, both into the conduct of par-'ticular Admirals, and into the conduct of the 'Admiralty-board in general. For that purpoſe, 'many papers were called for, no papers were 'ever refuſed to be called for, and yet we do not 'find, that any of the ſecrets of our government 'were ever thereby diſcovered to the enemy. 'What then ſhould make us ſo much afraid now 'of diſcovering the ſecrets of our government? 'Does this houſe, or does the other houſe now 'deſerve leſs confidence from our miniſters, than 'in the late war? My Lords, I am convinced, 'the oppoſition to this and all ſuch motions does 'not proceed from any apprehenſion, leſt the 'ſecrets of our government ſhould be diſcovered 'to the enemy, but from an apprehenſion, leſt 'this houſe and the nation ſhould diſcover, that 'our government have no ſecrets relating to the 'proſecutiou of the war, or perhaps that our 'miniſters have given ſuch orders, as muſt pre-'vent its being proſecuted with effect.

'From what I have ſaid, my Lords, there 'muſt, I think, ariſe ſome very ſtrong ſuſpicions, 'that the war has been miſconducted or neglected; 'and if this be a motive for an inquiry; if a 'moſt general murmur among the people be a 'motive for an inquiry; if a moſt melancholy 'ſtate of affairs be a motive for an inquiry; if 'theſe three motives united together can or ought 'to prevail with us to inquire into the late con-'duct of our publick affairs; then, I ſay, it is 'now abſolutely neceſſary for us to enter upon 'that inquiry; and if this be neceſſary, there 'can be no queſtion about calling for the papers

'now moved for, becauſe whatever ſecrets they 'may contain, we muſt have them, we muſt ſee 'them, we muſt examine them, either in the 'houſe, or by a committee, before we can enter 'upon ſuch an inquiry. Therefore, if this mo-'tion be diſagreed to by a majority, I ſhall con-'clude, that your Lordſhips are againſt any in-'quiry, in which caſe I ſhall condole with my 'country upon the diſmal proſpect of its affairs; 'for, I think, it is evident, that our operations 'of war are under the influence of the ſame pu-'ſillanimous ſpirit, which influenced our late ne-'gotiations for peace; and if your Lordſhips are 'reſolved to allow the ſame ſpirit to continue its 'baneful influence, I ſhall expect to ſee the for-'mer as tedious and fruitleſs as the latter; but 'the effects will be much more fatal; for during 'our peaceable negotiations, the nation was at 'no great extraordinary expence, and our trade 'ſuffered only in one branch; but now the nation 'is loaded with a monſtrous expence, and our 'trade ſuffers in every part, which muſt exhauſt 'us ſo effectually, that in a ſhort time, inſtead 'of attacking the enemy, we ſhall be in no con-'dition to defend ourſelves.

'This diſmal effect, I hope your Lordſhips 'will endeavour to prevent: I hope you will, by 'a ſtrict inquiry, endeavour to remove that in-'fluence which clogs the wheels of all our war-'like operations; and this ought to be the chief 'intention of your inquiry. There may be ſome 'guilty perſons amongſt us, but their puniſhment 'is of little conſideration, when compared with 'the impending ruin of the nation: The avert-'ing of this ought to be our principal aim; and 'for this purpoſe, we ought to interpoſe with 'our moſt ſincere advice to our Sovereign, which 'we cannot pretend to do, without firſt making 'ourſelves acquainted with the late conduct, and

'the

'the preſent ſtate of our publick affairs. We 'have too long put an implicit faith in the con- 'duct of our miniſters: The effects may now 'convince us, we have been in the wrong. The 'dangerous ſtate of the affairs of *Europe*, the 'unlucky ſtate of the affairs of this nation, muſt 'convince us, that if the late conduct of our 'miniſter has not been wicked, it has at leaſt 'been unwiſe. For many years he gave us a 'ſample of his dexterity in managing foreign 'negotiations; he has now given us a ſample of 'his dexterity in managing a war: I do not think 'we have great reaſon to applaud his dexterity 'in either. By negotiating alliances with all the 'powers of *Europe* round, we at laſt left ourſelves 'without one friend or ally in the world: By ne- 'gotiating with *Spain* for a peace, we blundered 'ourſelves into a war: By an imprudent proſe- 'cution of that war, we may blunder ourſelves 'into inevitable ruin. We are now upon the 'brink of a precipice: Shall we ſtill keep our 'eyes ſhut, and truſt our retreat to the guidance 'of him, who inadvertently, I ſhall not ſay de- 'ſignedly, brought us into the danger? I am 'ſure, my Lords, I ſhall not, if I can by any 'means avoid it, and therefore I muſt be for 'agreeing with the noble Lord in his motion.'

The next that ſpoke in this debate was the Lord Chancellor, whoſe ſpeech was to the following effect.

'My Lords,

'Tho' I may perhaps have a greater confidence 'in the conduct of our miniſters, than the noble 'Duke who ſpoke laſt, yet I do not form my 'opinion, in any queſtion of a political nature, 'by a ſort of faith, but by inquiry and convic- 'tion. If I allowed myſelf to be governed by a Lord Chancellor's ſpeech.

'faith in what any man ſays, I am ſure, with 'regard to my opinion of the conduct of the 'preſent war, I ſhould as readily put a faith in 'what the noble Duke ſays of it, as in what can 'be ſaid of it by any other man in the kingdom; 'but in all caſes that come before this houſe, I 'think myſelf obliged, both in honour and con-'ſcience, to depend upon my own judgment 'alone, weak as it is, and according to that to 'regulate my behaviour here. It is, I confeſs, 'my Lords, a very great misfortune to thoſe 'concerned in the adminiſtration, to have the 'noble Duke's opinion againſt their conduct in 'the war, becauſe his Grace's experience in mi-'litary affairs, and his character in the world, 'muſt of courſe contribute a great deal towards 'giving people a prejudice againſt the meaſures 'of our adminiſtration: But as every Lord in 'this houſe is obliged carefully to guard againſt 'his being prejudiced by the opinion of another, 'I have without prejudice or favour examin'd 'ſtrictly, and conſider'd maturely, every ſtep of 'our conduct ſince the war began; and upon the 'niceſt ſcrutiny, I am fully convinc'd, that every 'ſtep we have taken was the moſt prudent that 'could be taken in the circumſtances we were 'then in, and that nothing has been omitted or 'neglected, which we could in prudence, or with 'any view of ſucceſs, reſolve to undertake. This, 'my Lords, is my opinion, and, I believe, it 'would be thoroughly confirmed by an impartial 'inquiry into the conduct of our miniſters: By 'ſuch an inquiry they would be juſtified; but, 'my Lords, by ſuch an inquiry at this time, the 'nation might, probably, be ruined; and there-'fore, tho' I ſhall be as ready as any Lord in 'this houſe to enter upon an inquiry, when a 'ſeaſonable opportunity offers, yet at this time I 'cannot help declaring againſt it.

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'The noble Duke was pleaſed to ſay, that in 'moſt queſtions of a political nature there are 'inconveniencies of both ſides, and we ought to 'chuſe that ſide, which is attended with the leaſt 'or the feweſt inconveniencies. I ſhall admit, 'that the queſtion now before us is a queſtion of 'this nature: There is on each ſide a danger 'to be apprehended, and every Lord ought, I 'hope every Lord will chuſe that ſide, which he 'thinks leaſt expoſes the nation to danger. By 'having the papers now moved for, laid before 'this houſe, it is granted by all, that we ſhall 'expoſe the nation to the danger of having its 'ſecrets divulged to the enemy: By refuſing to 'call for theſe papers, and conſequently deferring 'an inquiry into the conduct of the war, it is 'ſaid, by the Lords who ſpoke in favour of this 'motion, and by them only, that we ſhall expoſe 'the nation to the danger of having the war con-'tinued to be conducted by thoſe, who have 'already ſhewn, that they have neither wiſdom, 'ſkill, nor courage, to conduct it in a proper 'and effectual manner. Of theſe two dangers I 'ſhall readily grant, that the laſt is the greateſt; 'but I cannot agree with the noble Lords in 'thinking, that there is any ſuch danger; for if 'the war has hitherto been conducted with all 'poſſible wiſdom and vigour, the nation can then 'be expoſed to no danger, by having the future 'conduct of it continued in the ſame hands.

'Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that the 'queſtion now before us turns intirely upon the 'opinion each Lord may form to himſelf of our 'paſt conduct in the war. Thoſe who think, 'that our conduct hitherto has been exceſſively 'bad, will, I believe, give their opinion upon 'the affirmative ſide of this queſtion; and thoſe 'who think otherwiſe, muſt certainly declare 'themſelves for the negative. But, my Lords,

'I muſt obſerve, that no Lord ought to declare 'for the affirmative, unleſs he be fully and clearly 'convinced, that our conduct has been exceſſively 'bad; becauſe this queſtion, if agreed to, will 'in its conſequences expoſe the nation to two 'very great dangers: One of the two I have 'mentioned already, which is that of having the 'ſecrets of our government diſcloſed to the ene-'my: This danger, whatever others may think, 'is, in my opinion, almoſt unavoidable; for, I 'think, it is hardly poſſible to conceal what is 'communicated to two ſuch numerous aſſemblies, 'as this and the other houſe of Parliament; and 'tho' we ſhould both name ſelect committees, 'yet every thing muſt be communicated by that 'committee to the whole houſe, that may be in-'tended as a foundation for the opinion, deter-'mination, or reſolution of the whole houſe; 'for ſurely it could not be expected, that the 'houſe would, upon the report, agree to the re-'ſolutions of their committee, without being 'made acquainted with every fact, and ſeeing 'every paper, upon which thoſe reſolutions 'were founded.

'I do not at all wonder, my Lords, at our 'hiſtorians not having complained of the ſecrets 'of our government having been diſcovered to 'the enemy, or of the nation's ſuffering by ſuch 'diſcoveries, becauſe, tho' we have had many par-'liamentary inquiries, yet thoſe inquiries have 'generally been into the conduct and management 'of ſome particular perſon, or of ſome particu-'lar affair, and were never ſet on foot, till the 'affair was quite over, which was to be inquired 'into. Of this nature were all the inquiries du-'ring the continuance of the two late wars: 'That in relation to Admiral *Ruſſel* was ſet on 'foot at his own deſire, which he was prompted 'to by ſome reflections thrown out againſt his

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'conduct, upon the motion for returning him 'thanks. It related to a particular affair only, 'and was not ſet on foot, till after the affair was 'over; ſo that if there were any ſecrets in the 'papers relating to it, they were ſuch as could 'be of no advantage to the enemy, nor of any 'prejudice to this nation. That againſt Admiral *Rook* was likewiſe an inquiry into a particular affair, and into that particular Admiral's 'conduct with regard to that affair; and it was 'not ſet on foot, till long after the affair was 'over. As to the general inquiry that was made, 'during the laſt war, into the conduct of the 'Admiralty-board, your Lordſhips all know, it 'was ſet on foot on a complaint of the merchants 'againſt that board, and it related only to the 'meaſures they had taken for protecting our trade 'by cruiſers and convoys, which could contain 'no ſecrets that could be of any advantage to 'the enemy, becauſe the meaſures taken for protecting our trade muſt be in a perpetual courſe 'of fluctuation, according as accidents happen, 'occaſions require, or advices arrive.

'From hence, my Lords, 'tis plain, that none 'of the parliamentary inquiries ſet on foot during 'the wars in King *William* and Queen *Anne*'s 'time, can be brought as a precedent for the inquiry now propoſed; nor can it be ſaid, that 'any of them were ſo much liable to the objection of being attended with the danger of diſcovering the ſecrets of our government to the 'enemy. But beſides this, my Lords, an inquiry into the late conduct of our publick affairs would be attended with another danger, 'which in its conſequences might be extremely 'pernicious to the nation; I mean that of 'creating a breach between his Majeſty and his 'Parliament. We know how apt people are 'to find fault with thoſe placed in authority over 'them,

'them, and how ready they are to aggravate the 'inevitable miſtakes or human frailties of a mi-'niſter: This is the reaſon, that, when a mini-'ſter's conduct comes under the inquiſition of 'Parliament, he ſeldom gets off without a cen-'ſure. Though our preſent miniſters are, I be-'lieve, as free from faults as any miniſters ever 'were, yet one does not know, what might be 'the conſequence of a parliamentary inquiry. 'With regard to ſome of them, the inquiry 'might end in a cenſure, and the conſequence of 'this would be an addreſs to his Majeſty to re-'move them: Perhaps his Majeſty might not be 'of the ſame opinion with his Parliament; for, 'in this caſe, I hope it will be allowed, he has 'a right to judge for himſelf. Perhaps he might 'not think his miniſters deſerved cenſure, though 'his Parliament did; and if he thought ſo, he 'would probably refuſe to remove them. On 'the other hand, the Parliament would probably 'inſiſt upon their requeſt being comply'd with; 'and this might at laſt produce a total breach 'between King and Parliament, which would be 'one of the moſt unlucky accidents could happen 'to this nation in its preſent circumſtances.

'Having thus, I hope, ſet in a clear and a 'true light the dangers that attend our inquiring 'into the late conduct of our publick affairs, and 'calling for all the papers, and all the lights, 'that may be neceſſary for that purpoſe, I hope 'your Lordſhips will think, we ought not wan-'tonly, and without a very ſufficient cauſe, to 'expoſe our country to theſe dangers; and there-'fore, I think, every Lord that is to give his 'vote in favour of this queſtion, ought to be 'fully convinced from his own knowledge, and 'according to his own judgment, that the war 'has been hitherto moſt egregiouſly ill con-'ducted; and that it is impoſſible to expect any

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'ſucceſs, whilſt it remains under the ſame ſort 'of management. As I have no experience in 'warlike affairs; as I know nothing of them, 'but what I have learned from reading and con-'verſation, I ſhall not pretend to account for our 'not attempting to attack the enemy at land in '*Europe*: All I can ſay is, that we never got 'much by any ſuch attack, and therefore, unleſs 'we could have expected to meet with the plun-'der of ſome galleons, as we did at *Vigo*, or 'ſome ſuch booty, I think no advantage we could 'have propoſed to reap by ſuch an attack, would 'have equal'd the riſk and expence. And as to 'the *Weſt-Indies*, we have now ſent a force thi-'ther, from which we have all the reaſon in the 'world to expect great national advantages, and 'which will, I hope, ſoon compel the enemy to 'ſubmit to reaſonable terms. We might, per-'haps, have done more againſt the enemy, both 'in *Europe* and *America*, than we have done; 'but I am very ſure, I cannot poſitively ſay ſo: 'This may, indeed, proceed from my ignorance 'in warlike affairs; but, my Lords, this very 'ignorance is a good reaſon for my giving my 'negative to this queſtion, becauſe neither I, nor 'any Lord in this houſe, ought to expoſe his 'country to dangers, which he clearly foreſees, 'for the ſake of avoiding a danger, which he 'cannot foreſee or comprehend.

'But, my Lords, tho' I have no experience, 'and very little knowledge in warlike affairs, yet 'I have ſome knowledge in hiſtory, and when I 'compare what has been done in the preſent war, 'with what was done in the former wars which 'we have been engaged in againſt *Spain*, I can-'not much complain of our inaction either in '*Europe* or *America*. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, 'tho' the war againſt *Spain* began in 1585, and 'laſted till that Queen's death in 1603, which

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'was ſeventeen years, yet in all that time there 'were but three or four expeditions of conſe- 'quence undertaken againſt the enemy, either in 'Spain or the *Indies*; and tho' the private adven- 'tures got ſometimes a rich booty, yet the na- 'tion never reaped any advantage, nor kept poſ- 'ſeſſion of any one place they had the good for- 'tune to take. Again, in *Oliver Cromwell*'s time, 'tho' the war againſt *Spain* began in 1654, and 'continued till his death in 1658, yet no one 'expedition was undertaken, or, I believe, ſo 'much as thought of, againſt any of the domi- 'nions of *Spain*, except that one expedition by 'which the war was begun, and by which we 'got and kept the iſland of *Jamaica* in the *Weſt- 'Indies*; ſo that in the main it cannot, I think, 'be ſaid, that we have been leſs active in the 'preſent war, than we were in that begun by 'Queen *Elizabeth*, or in that begun by *Oliver 'Cromwell*; and, I believe, neither Queen *Eliza- 'beth*'s nor *Oliver Cromwell*'s government will be 'accuſed either of want of wiſdom, or want of 'vigour.

'I do not therefore think, my Lords, that 'there has been any ſuch miſconduct or negli- 'gence in the proſecution of the war, as can af- 'ford any reaſonable cauſe for this houſe to ſet 'on foot ſuch a general inquiry as ſeems to be 'the intention of this motion; and as to the 'other cauſes mentioned by the noble Duke, for 'prevailing with us to enter upon ſuch an inquiry, 'they cannot, I think, when rightly conſidered, 'have any weight. The preſent unlucky ſitua- 'tion of the affairs of *Europe*, is evidently owing 'to the death of the Emperor; and the ſituation 'of our affairs at home can no way be ſaid to be 'unlucky, otherwiſe than as we may be involved 'in the misfortunes that may reſult from that 'unlucky accident. As for the murmurs or cla-

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'mours without doors, they can never of themſelves be a ſufficient cauſe for an inquiry, eſpecially with regard to our conduct in time of war; for in every war there will be ſuch murmurs. In the laſt glorious war, notwithſtanding our repeated and continued ſucceſſes, there were murmurs againſt the conduct of the war, and thoſe murmurs were, I believe, as general as they are againſt our conduct in the preſent. But, my Lords, when we talk of the murmurs and clamours without doors, we ought to reflect on the many falſe, ſeditious, and ſcurrilous libels that are daily publiſhed againſt his Majeſty and his government, as well as againſt the meaſures of the adminiſtration. It is to theſe chiefly, that all the clamours and diſcontents of the people are moſt properly to be imputed. By theſe libels his Majeſty's government is traduced; and every meaſure that can be purſued by the adminiſtration miſrepreſented; and as the people are always more apt to find fault with, than to applaud or juſtify the conduct of their ſuperiors, they ſwallow greedily, and believe implicitly, the falſhoods and miſrepreſentations contained in theſe libels, while at the ſame time they yield no attention, or, perhaps, will not be at the pains to peruſe, what is wrote in favour of the government of their country. Therefore, if your Lordſhips have a mind to inquire into any thing, there is no ſubject more proper or neceſſary for your conſideration, than an inquiry into the authors and publiſhers of theſe libels, and the moſt effectual methods for putting a ſtop to this growing evil.

'Such an inquiry as this, my Lords, could expoſe our country to no danger, but might lay a foundation for our tranquillity in all time to come: Whereas an inquiry into the conduct of a war, *flagrante bello*, muſt always be attended

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'with great danger, by rendering in a manner 'publick, all the meaſures that have been taken, 'and all the ſchemes that have been concerted, 'either for diſtreſſing the enemy or defending 'ourſelves: Nor is it, my Lords, any way in-'conſiſtent with the dignity of this aſſembly to 'ſuppoſe, that what is once laid before us muſt 'ſoon be made publick, eſpecially whilſt you 'admit ſo many ſtrangers to be preſent at all 'your debates. This, my Lords, is really in-'conſiſtent with the dignity of this aſſembly: 'You depart from your antient dignity, when 'you admit of ſuch an audience; and the miſ-'fortune which neceſſarily attends it is, that what 'is ſaid or done in this houſe, is too often made 'a handle of, for inflaming the minds of the 'people, and for raiſing thoſe clamours and diſ-'contents without doors, which are afterwards 'made uſe of as arguments for influencing our 'proceedings within; but ſuch arguments I ſhall 'never allow to have any weight with me; and 'as they ſeem to be the chief arguments in fa-'vour of this motion, I muſt therefore declare 'myſelf againſt it.'

The Earl of *Cheſterfield* ſtood up next, and ſpoke to this effect:

'My Lords,

Earl of *Cheſterfield*'s ſpeech.

'I differ ſo widely from the noble Lord that 'ſpoke laſt, in my opinion about the conduct of 'the preſent war, that, I think, without any 'ſkill in military affairs, and with but a very 'moderate knowledge of hiſtory, or of the pre-'ſent ſtate of this nation and *Spain*, one may 'clearly ſee, that this war has been moſt weakly 'conducted in every part; and the inquiry in-'tended by this motion, I look on as an inqui-'ry into the worſt conducted part of the worſt

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'conducted war that was ever carried on by this 'nation, or, I believe, by any other; for a na- 'tion engaged in war generally exerts its utmoſt 'ſtrength, and if it does not attack the enemy 'with vigour, it is becauſe of its being ſo un- 'equally matched, that it has hardly ſtrength 'enough to defend itſelf. Is this our caſe in 'the preſent war? Is not the very contrary our 'caſe? The enemy we are now engaged with has 'always been, and is now a moſt unequal match 'for this nation: It is abſolutely impoſſible for 'them to attack us in any part of the world, 'with a probable view of ſucceſs: It is abſolutely 'impoſſible for them to defend themſelves in 'that part of the world, where it is moſt our 'intereſt to attack them, if we exert our ſtrength, 'and apply it in a prudent and vigorous manner. 'But this, my Lords, we have not done: We 'have indeed put ourſelves to a great expence in 'warlike preparations; but inſtead of ſending 'our forces abroad to attack the enemy, we have 'kept them at home as a ſpectacle or an oppreſ- 'ſion to our own people. We have made no 'vigorous effort in any part of the world; and 'in that part which the preſent motion relates to, 'the only effort we have made, has been, in my 'opinion, a wrong one. We have employed our 'ſquadron upon the coaſts of *Spain*, to keep their 'ſquadron, their flota, and their ſhips in port, 'whereas we ſhould have invited them out: We 'ſhould have tempted them to put to ſea; be- 'cauſe if we had at firſt ſent a ſufficient ſquadron 'to the *Weſt-Indies*, they could have done us no 'harm; and we ſhould have had a chance of 'meeting with, and deſtroying them at ſea; but 'whilſt they remained in port, as we had reſolved 'not to attack them there, we had no chance of 'doing them an injury.

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'But this, my Lords, is not the worſt part of 'our conduct. The deſign on which we em- 'ployed the ſquadron under Admiral *Haddock* 'was bad; but even that deſign, bad as it was, 'we have executed in a moſt unaccountable man- 'ner. When that ſquadron firſt took its ſtation 'off *Cadiz*, the enemy had then in that port a 'flota deſigned for the *Weſt-Indies:* The rich 'cargoes deſigned to be ſent by that flota were 'then all on board, and the ſhips almoſt ready 'to depart. The enemy had beſides in the ſame 'port, a ſquadron of men of war; but that ſqua- 'dron was far from being provided with men, 'ſtores, or proviſions; and as the enemy are 'always in great want of all theſe neceſſaries, we 'knew, it was not in their power to fit out that 'ſquadron, ſo as to be fit for ſailing, in a great 'many months. Theſe being the enemy's known 'circumſtances, what did our ſquadron do? It 'continued before *Cadiz*, not to keep in the ene- 'my's ſquadron, but to keep their flota from 'ſailing, leſt we might have a chance of making 'ſomething conſiderable by the repriſals we had 'iſſued, which was at firſt the only method we 'had wiſely propoſed for bringing the enemy to 'reaſon, and therefore it is the more ſurpriſing, 'we ſhould take meaſures to prevent its effect. 'However, in this, if it was our deſign, we ſuc- 'ceeded; the ſhips of the flota were unloaded 'and laid up, or converted into war ſhips, and 'the ſeamen and ſtores provided for them, were 'made uſe of for fitting out their ſquadron with 'the more expedition, ſo that at laſt it was fit 'for ſailing, or at leaſt as fit as the enemy could 'make it. As the preventing this ſquadron's 'putting to ſea, was our profeſſed deſign, one 'would think, we ſhould then have been more 'careful than ever of keeping our ſquadrons be- 'fore *Cadiz*, or at leaſt in ſuch ſtations as to be

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'ready to follow or intercept the enemy's ſqua-
'dron, in caſe it ſhould dare to put to ſea. Was
'this the caſe, my Lords? No, as ſoon as the
'enemy's ſquadron was fit for ſailing, our ſqua-
'drons were all ſent out of the way, and ſo far
'as appears, without orders to take any farther
'notice of the enemy's ſquadron at *Cadiz*.

'My Lords, this conduct is really moſt unac-
'countable: It would almoſt provoke one to ſuſ-
'pect treachery; yet this ſtill is not the worſt.
'The enemy's ſquadron ſailed from *Cadiz* to
'*Ferrol:* It remained there ſome months: It took
'in regular troops, warlike ſtores, and proviſions,
'for ſupplying the *Spaniſh* gariſons in the *Weſt-*
'*Indies:* It ſailed again from *Ferrol* to *America*,
'and all this without the leaſt diſturbance or in-
'terruption from any of our ſquadrons; ſoon
'after two ſquadrons ſailed from *France* to the
'ſame part of the world. What was their de-
'ſign, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but, I
'am ſure, we had reaſon to be ſuſpicious;
'and tho' Admiral *Vernon*, who was now brought
'to be upon the defenſive, had made the beſt
'diſpoſition poſſible, yet from many circumſtan-
'ces I have ſome reaſon to believe, that his
'ſafety, and the ſafety of our iſland of *Jamaica*,
'were more owing to tempeſts and *Spaniſh* indo-
'lence, than to our conduct or foreſight. As we
'were in friendſhip with *France*, and had an un-
'interrupted correſpondence with every part of
'that kingdom, we certainly knew of their pre-
'parations, we certainly knew of their ſquadrons
'ſailing; yet we took no care to ſend a ſquadron
'immediately after them, but left Admiral *Ver-*
'*non*, and all our ſugar iſlands for two or three
'months to the mercy of *French* faith and ſince-
'rity.

'Was there any prudence in this, my Lords?
'Has there appeared either wiſdom or vigour in

'any one ſtep of our conduct ſince the war began? The noble Lord ſays, the preſent queſtion 'muſt turn upon the opinion each particular Lord 'has formed to himſelf of our conduct of the 'war. It certainly does ſo; but I will ſay, that 'if your Lordſhips do not think, that our conduct hitherto has been exceſſively bad, you will 'differ from the opinion of every man in this 'nation, and every man in *Europe*, that knows 'any thing of the circumſtances of this nation 'and *Spain*. Do not our common news-papers, 'does not every traveller that comes from abroad, 'inform us, that our conduct in the war is ridiculed and houted at every court, and in every 'city in *Europe*? The learned Lord who ſpoke 'laſt may, perhaps, know very little of military 'affairs, becauſe he has always been employed in 'ſerving his country in a different capacity; but 'it is the buſineſs and the duty of every Lord, 'and of every gentleman, that is not of the 'robe, to know ſomething of military affairs. 'In *France* they have no notion of a gentleman 'that is not of the robe or the ſword; and if 'your Lordſhips refuſe entering into an inquiry, 'becauſe you have a good opinion, or becauſe you 'have not an exceſſive bad opinion of our paſt 'conduct in the war, I am convinced, foreigners 'will think, that this houſe is chiefly compoſed 'of divines or lawyers, or at leaſt they will think, 'we know nothing of what ought to be the buſineſs of every gentleman not bred to either of 'theſe profeſſions; which is an opinion we ought 'not to propagate, at ſuch a critical conjuncture.

'The learned Lord ſays, we ought not to 'inquire into the conduct of the war, *flagrante bello*. My Lords, it is not propoſed to inquire 'into the conduct of the war, *flagrante*, but '*languente bello*; and if we do not inquire into it 'while it is *languens*, I believe we ſhall have no

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'opportunity to inquire into it while it is *flagrans:* At leaſt, I believe, we ſhall have no 'ſuch opportunity as long as it is under the ſame 'management. But why ſhould we be ſo cautious of inquiring into the conduct of the preſent war, even during its continuance? I am 'perſuaded, we cannot thereby diſcover any important ſecrets to the enemy; becauſe I am 'convinced, there are none ſuch in any of the 'papers now moved for: At leaſt, none but 'ſuch as may ruin the nation by their being concealed. If there are any that may hurt the 'nation by their being revealed, his Majeſty will 'certainly tell us ſo in his anſwer to our addreſs; 'and then we can direct our future proceedings 'accordingly. And as to the danger of creating 'a breach between his Majeſty and his Parliament by ſuch an inquiry, I am ſurprized to 'hear ſuch a thing inſinuated by a noble Lord, 'who is ſo well acquainted with our conſtitution, 'and with his Majeſty's perſonal virtues. Our 'preſent Sovereign, my Lords, is too well acquainted with the happy conſtitution of our 'government, and has too great a regard for it, 'to employ any miniſter, whom he knows to be 'diſagreeable to his people or his Parliament. 'Therefore we cannot be in the leaſt apprehenſive, that his Majeſty would continue in his 'ſervice a miniſter, whoſe conduct had been cenſured by Parliament, and much leſs that he 'would rather break with his Parliament than 'comply with their requeſt in removing any miniſter from his ſervice.

'Thus, my Lords, it is evident, I think, that 'no danger, no inconvenience can enſue from our 'inquiry; but if we make no inquiry, God 'knows what may be the conſequence: The 'war will be continued in the ſame languid manner; our merchants will be plunder'd; our

'trade will be ruin'd; our revenues will ſink; our 'debts will riſe, till at laſt we ſhall not have funds 'for continuing the war; and when we are thus 'exhauſted, thoſe we now ſeem ſo much afraid 'of, will probably declare againſt us; I ſay, 'probably, my Lords, becauſe they may then 'do it without danger; for their having ſat 'quiet ſo long, is, I believe, more owing to their 'fear, than their inclination. But ſuppoſe this 'misfortune ſhould not befal us, even our own 'people will at laſt become mutinous; they will 'at laſt begin to look upon thoſe in authority 'over them, as their greateſt enemies, and will 'be ready to join with any enemy, even the '*Spaniards* themſelves, in order to get rid of 'ſuch a government. In all governments it is 'reckon'd a great happineſs, to have a regular, 'legal method for giving the people ſatisfaction, 'when they appear generally diſcontented with 'the conduct of thoſe at the helm of affairs. 'The legal method eſtabliſh'd by our conſtitu-'tion for this purpoſe, is by a ſtrict and impar-'tial parliamentary inquiry: By this method we 'ſhall always be able to quiet the minds of the 'people, either by puniſhing the guilty, or juſti-'fying thoſe that are wrongfully accuſed. But 'if our Parliament ſhould neglect and deſpiſe 'the complaints of the people, in purſuance of 'ſome doctrines I have lately heard advanced in 'this houſe, the people will deſpair of any legal 'redreſs; and in that caſe, they will certainly 'begin to think of doing themſelves juſtice by a 'general inſurrection. The conſequence of this 'may be fatal to many innocent, as well as the 'guilty; nay, it may prove fatal to our preſent 'happy eſtabliſhment, and therefore I am always 'ſurpriſed to hear any one, that has a regard for 'our Royal Family, profeſs a contempt of popu-'lar clamours or diſcontents.

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'My Lords, I muſt think it very unlucky in 'any one, that argues in favour of our conduct 'in the preſent war, to mention Queen *Elizabeth* 'or *Oliver Cromwell:* Both of them began the 'war againſt *Spain* in a very different manner 'from what we have now done. Queen *Eliza-* 'beth began the war, by ſending an army into 'the *Low-Countries*, to aſſiſt them in throwing 'off the yoke of *Spain:* At the ſame time ſhe 'ſent a ſquadron with land forces on board, to 'the *Weſt-Indies*, not with ſimple or ambiguous 'orders for making repriſals, but with expreſs 'orders to attack the *Spaniſh* ſettlements; and 'accordingly they took and plunder'd *St. Jago*, 'one of the *Cape Verd* iſlands, as alſo moſt part 'of the iſland of *St. Domingo*, the town of *Car-* 'thagena, and the towns of *St. Antonio* and *St. He-* 'lena in *Florida*. The very next year after the 'return of this fleet, ſhe ſent another under the 'ſame Admiral, *Drake*, to the coaſts of *Spain*, 'which did not lie to be ſtared at off of any 'of their ports, but enter'd the harbour of *Ca-* 'diz and the river of *Liſbon*, and burnt a great 'number of ſhips; and tho' the Admiral had no 'land forces on board, yet he landed at ſeveral 'places upon the coaſt of *Spain*, and ravaged 'the whole country round: At the ſame time 'ſhe ſent *Cavendiſh* to the *South-Seas*, where he 'ravaged the whole coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru*, and 'returned to *England* with a booty vaſtly rich. 'The year following was the year of the *Spa-* 'niſh *Armado*, the fate of which I need not relate. 'The next year, with the aſſiſtance of ſome pri- 'vate adventurers, ſhe ſent a fleet and army 'againſt *Spain* itſelf, where they landed at ſeve- 'ral places, beat an army that was ſent againſt 'them, and might have got great booty, if they 'had not amuſed themſelves with reſtoring the 'dethroned King of *Portugal*. The four or five

'years next following, that great Queen was 'chiefly employed in aſſiſting *Henry* the IVth of '*France* againſt the *Spaniards* and his own rebel-'lious ſubjects; and in the year 1596, a new 'fleet and army was ſent againſt *Spain* under the 'Earl of *Eſſex*, who took the city of *Cadiz*, burnt 'or took all the ſhips in the harbour, and after 'having done the *Spaniards* an infinite deal of 'miſchief, returned to *England* with a moſt con-'ſiderable booty.

'Beſides theſe, my Lords, there were ſeveral 'other expeditions of leſs note undertaken againſt 'the *Spaniards* in that reign; and if we did not 'at that time keep poſſeſſion of any of the 'places we took from the enemy in the *Weſt-'Indies*, it was becauſe we did not then ſo well 'know the benefit of ſettlements in that part of 'the world. But if Queen *Elizabeth* did not 'puſh the war againſt *Spain* with ſo much vigour 'as ſhe might have done, there were two reaſons 'for it, which do not now ſubſiſt. In the firſt 'place, our trade, which was then in its infancy, 'ſuffered but very little by the war, and we 'were yearly getting great riches by plundring 'the enemy at ſea or land; and in the next 'place, that gracious Queen was extremely ſhy 'of loading her ſubjects with any taxes, or put-'ting the publick to any expence. When ſhe 'found herſelf under no neceſſity to ſend out 'forces to attack the enemy, or aſſiſt her allies, 'ſhe kept no army or ſquadron at home to be a 'burden and oppreſſion upon her own ſubjects. 'She raiſed no armies, nor fitted out any ſqua-'drons, but when ſhe had immediate occaſion 'for them, or was in imminent danger; and as 'ſoon as the ſervice or the danger was over, ſhe 'diſmiſſed her armies, and paid off her ſquadrons. 'I wiſh I could ſay, we have held the ſame con-

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'duct ever ſince, or that we now hold ſuch a 'conduct.

'Having thus explained Queen *Elizabeth*'s 'conduct, I ſhall be but very ſhort, my Lords, 'with regard to *Oliver Cromwell*'s. It is well 'known, he began his war with *Spain* by 'the conqueſt of *Jamaica*, which has ſince 'brought in ſo many millions Sterling to *Eng-*'*land*; and if it had not been for a miſtake in 'his General, he would probably have begun it 'with rhe conqueſt of *St. Domingo*, which would 'have been an acquiſition of much greater con-'ſequence to this kingdom. If he did not ſe-'cond his blow in the *Weſt-Indies*, it was be-'cauſe he engaged with the *French* in their war 'againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, by 'which he got poſſeſſion of the important city 'and port of *Dunkirk*; and he died in little more 'than two months after he had made this new 'and important acquiſition, which we might to 'this day have had in our poſſeſſion, if the Par-'liament, upon the Reſtoration, had done their 'duty, and annexed it to the crown of *England*. 'I wiſh the nation may never again ſuffer by the 'ſame ſort of neglect.

'Thus your Lordſhips ſee, that both in Queen '*Elizabeth*'s and *Cromwell*'s time, we began the war 'againſt *Spain* by giving them a ſevere blow in 'the *Weſt-Indies*. Have we done ſo now? Such 'a blow might eaſily have been given at the be-'ginning of this war; but it will grow every 'year more and more difficult, and is therefore 'not to be hoped for from thoſe who neglected 'to give it at the beginning. It is now above a 'year ſince war was declared: It is near eighteen 'months ſince hoſtilities were reſolv'd on: What 'have we yet done? The war has already coſt 'the people of this nation above three millions 'Sterling, and except what Admiral *Vernon* has

'done, I ſhall not ſay, without orders, but, I am 'ſure, without expreſs orders, we have not done 'the enemy three farthings worth of damage. I 'do not reckon taking their ſhips, becauſe in that 'way, I am convinced, they are more than equal 'with us. Can the people be ſatisfied with ſuch 'a return for the money they have ſo chearfully 'advanced? My Lords, if the nation be inflam'd, 'it is not by ſeditious libels, but by weak mea-'ſures, by meaſures that are univerſally condem-'ned; and from our hiſtories it will appear, that 'the people of *England* were never univerſally 'in the wrong. Whilſt any doubt remains, they 'will hear, they will attend to what is ſaid on 'both ſides, and they ſeldom, in general, judge 'amiſs. But when weak meaſures are ſupported 'by weak arguments, I do not wonder at the 'people's refuſing to read papers, where they 'can expect neither ſenſe, wit, nor amuſement.

'But in fact, my Lords, I do not think 'there are any falſe or ſeditious libels pub-'liſh'd, unleſs it be thoſe called *Gazetteers*; and 'ſuppoſe there were, ſhall this houſe deſcend ſo far 'beneath its dignity, as to become a court of in-'quiſition into the authors and publiſhers of 'pamphlets and news-papers? This, my Lords, 'is the proper buſineſs of a *Middleſex* juſtice 'of peace. If we ſhould take their buſineſs 'upon us, I am ſure, I ſhould be for turning all 'ſtrangers out of the houſe, becauſe I ſhould be 'aſham'd of what we were about. I ſhould then, 'indeed, be for keeping our doors ſhut; but 'whilſt we do nothing unbecoming, and when 'we have no important ſecrets under deliberation, it is an advantage to us to have as many 'ſtrangers admitted as poſſible, becauſe the dig-'nity, the juſtice, and the candour of our pro-'ceedings, are thereby publiſh'd to the world.

'My

'My Lords, it is not by excluding all ſorts of 'ſtrangers, that you are to preſerve the ancient 'dignity of this aſſembly: It is by excluding all 'manner of quibbling, impertinence, deceit, 'weakneſs, and corruption. Theſe, I hope, are 'ſtrangers here: I hope your Lordſhips will take 'care never to admit any one of them within 'theſe walls; but by excluding other ſtrangers, 'when you have nothing of a ſecret nature un-'der conſideration, you will only raiſe a jealouſy 'of the dignity of your proceedings; and if this 'jealouſy become general without doors, you 'will in vain ſeek for reſpect amongſt the 'people.'

The next that ſpoke was the Lord *Harvey*, the purport of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

'My Lords,

'As ſo much has been already ſaid upon this 'queſtion, I cannot propoſe to entertain your 'Lordſhips with any thing new upon the ſubject, 'and therefore ſhould have avoided giving you 'any trouble at this time; but I think the queſ-'tion ſo important and dangerous, that I could 'not have forgiven myſelf, had ſuch a queſtion 'been agreed to, without my teſtifying previouſly 'my diſlike to it. It has, I think, on all ſides 'been acknowledged, that nothing can, that no-'thing ought to induce any Lord to give his aſ-'ſent to this queſtion, but a thorough conviction, 'that our conduct in the war hitherto has been 'moſt intolerably bad. Now, my Lords, in or-'der to have ſuch a conviction, I think there are 'ſeveral other things neceſſary, beſides a compe-'tent ſkill in military affairs. We ought to know 'the preſent circumſtances of this nation in every 'reſpect: We ought to know the preſent circum-'ſtances of the enemy in every part of their do-'minions; Lord *Harvey*'s ſpeech.

'minions; the ſtrength and condition of their 'fleets and fortifications; the number and ſtate of 'their land forces and gariſons; and the capacity, 'temper, and qualifications of their miniſters, 'governors, and commanders: And farther, we 'ought to know the preſent intereſts and views, 'as well as the ſtrength, of all the powers in *Eu-* 'rope, that may declare for us or againſt us in the 'preſent war. Without a competent knowledge 'in all theſe particulars, as well as in the nature of 'military affairs in general, I think, we judge 'raſhly, if we paſs ſuch a ſentence upon our paſt 'conduct in this war, as to ſay, it has been into- 'lerably weak or imprudent; and as I can pretend 'to no ſuch knowledge, I cannot paſs ſuch a ſen- 'tence; conſequently, according to what has been 'allowed of all ſides, I ought not to declare for 'a general inquiry into the conduct of the war, '*pendente*, I ſhall not ſay, *flagrante bello*, and 'therefore, I ought not to agree to this queſtion.

'How peoples ſentiments about the proper 'methods for obtaining redreſs, or for proſecuting 'the war, come to vary ſo much as they do, I 'do not know; but, my Lords, when hoſtilities 'firſt began to be talked of, I think it was the 'general opinion, that we ought not to begin 'with declaring war againſt *Spain*, for fear of a- 'larming the other powers of *Europe*; and be- 'cauſe, by ſending our ſquadrons out to make re- 'priſals, we might ſoon be able to get ſufficient 'for repairing the damage ſuffered by our mer- 'chants, and to compel *Spain* to give us ſecurity 'for the freedom of our trade and navigation in 'time to come. And in order to prevent their 'being able to do us any miſchief, the moſt pru- 'dent method was thought to be, to prevent their 'ſending out any ſquadron, by blocking it up in 'port. Theſe, I ſay, were peoples ſentiments, 'when hoſtilities firſt began to be talk'd of: I

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'hope they have not varied for no other reaſon, 'but becauſe our miniſters fell into theſe ſenti- 'ments, and purſued theſe very methods. Now, 'my Lords, if it would have been imprudent in 'us to have begun with a declaration of war a- 'gainſt *Spain*, I am ſure, it would have been more 'imprudent, and would have given a greater a- 'larm, to have begun with an expedition for 'making any conqueſts upon them, either in *Eu- 'rope* or *America*. But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we 'had reſolved to begin the war in this manner, it 'was not really in our power; we had no land 'forces to ſpare at the beginning of the war, nor 'could we ſend more ſhips to the *Weſt-Indies*, 'than were actually ſent, conſidering the great 'number of ſhips we were oblig'd to employ for 'blocking up the enemy's ſquadron at *Cadiz*, for 'protecting our trade at home and abroad, and 'for guarding our own coaſts againſt any invaſion 'that might be deſign'd againſt us, either by '*Spain*, or any other power in *Europe*; and con- 'ſidering the great diſtreſs we were in at the be- 'ginning of the war for want of ſeamen.

'Though I do not pretend, my Lords, to any 'great ſkill in military affairs, nor to any great 'knowledge in hiſtory, yet I could undertake 'to ſhew, that at the beginning of this war the '*Spaniards* were better provided for their defence, 'both in *Old Spain* and *America*, than they were 'either in Queen *Elizabeth*'s or *Oliver Cromwell*'s 'time; and that it was leſs in our power to hurt 'them, than it was at either of thoſe periods. In 'Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, it is true, the King of '*Spain* had great armies on foot, but his armies 'were moſtly employed in *Italy* and the *Nether- 'lands*: He had not in *Spain* near ſuch a nume- 'rous army as they have at preſent, though he 'was then in poſſeſſion of *Portugal*, which he had 'conquered but a few years before, and conſe-

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'quently had the whole coaſt of *Portugal*, as well 'as the coaſts of *Spain*, to defend againſt our in-'vaſions. And with regard to their ſettlements 'in the *Weſt-Indies*, the *Spaniards* had then no 'regular troops in that part of the world, nor 'were the inhabitants near ſo numerous as they are 'at preſent. Then, my Lords, with regard to 'the fortifications, it is certain, that moſt of the 'ſea ports, both in *Old Spain* and *America*, are 'now much better fortified than they were in 'Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, eſpecially the port and 'city of *Cadiz*; for ſeveral new works have ſince 'been added to the fortifications of the city, and 'ſeveral new caſtles built for defending the har-'bour; and yet even at that time, the ſucceſs of 'the expedition under the Earl of *Eſſex* was more 'owing to a lucky accident, than to the weakneſs 'of the place, or to the vigour and conduct of 'our attack.

'From theſe conſiderations, my Lords, I muſt 'conclude, that it is not now ſo eaſy to attack 'the dominions of *Spain*, either in *Europe* or *A-'merica*, as it was in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; 'and with regard to the ſtrength of this nation, 'though Queen *Elizabeth* did not keep a regular 'ſtanding army in continual pay, becauſe it was 'not then the cuſtom in this or any other country 'in *Europe* to do ſo, yet ſhe had always an army at 'command, of as good troops as any that could 'be brought againſt her; and the militia of this 'kingdom was then better diſciplined, and more 'to be depended on, than it is at preſent. Our 'own hiſtories inform us, that in the year 1588, 'when the *Spaniſh Armado* was ſent out againſt 'this nation, Queen *Elizabeth* had an army of 'forty thouſand men aſſembled, beſides a well-'diſciplined and well-armed militia, all ready to 'march againſt the enemy, if they had landed in 'any part of this iſland; and therefore we cannot

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'be ſurprized at her being able to ſend a ſmall 'body of troops to attack the *Spaniards* in the '*Weſt-Indies*, as ſoon as ſhe reſolved upon a rup-'ture with that nation. To theſe advantages I 'muſt add, that Queen *Elizabeth* was in no dan-'ger of being attack'd at the ſame time by *France*, 'nor was the power of the crown of *France* near 'ſo formidable as it is at preſent.

'This laſt advantage, my Lords, was likewiſe 'enjoy'd by *Oliver Cromwell*, when he reſolved 'upon a rupture with *Spain*; and he had a much 'greater regular army on foot, than we had at the 'beginning of the preſent war: Beſides, the go-'vernment of *Spain* was then under ſo weak an 'adminiſtration, that it was hardly able to ſup-'port itſelf, and much leſs to attack him in either 'of theſe iſlands; therefore he was in no danger 'of being invaded at home, and conſequently 'might ſpare a few of his troops for attacking the '*Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, without expoſing 'the domeſtick tranquillity of the nation to any 'danger of being diſturbed. Was this our caſe 'at the beginning of the preſent war? Can it be 'ſaid with any confidence, that we were in no 'danger of having our domeſtick tranquillity diſ-'turbed by an invaſion, in caſe we had ſent out 'any part of the ſmall army we had then on foot, 'to attack the *Spaniards* at land, either in *Europe* 'or *America*? From *Spain* we were certainly in 'danger of being invaded; for they were actually 'preparing for it; and though *France* has not yet, 'and I hope will not declare againſt us, yet, con-'ſidering the union between the crowns of *France* 'and *Spain*, we had all the reaſon in the world to 'be upon our guard againſt *France*, as well as '*Spain*; for the former's having not yet declared 'againſt us, may, perhaps, be owing to our not 'ſending any troops out of the kingdom, till after 'having increaſed our army by new levies.

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'Therefore, my Lords, if we have not yet 'made a vigorous attack upon *Spain*, either in '*Europe*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, it is not owing to 'any imprudence or neglect in our conduct, but 'to *Spain*'s being now in a better ſtate of de-'fence than it was formerly, to the ſmall army 'we had on foot, or could raiſe at the very be-'ginning of the war, and to the great difficulties 'we laboured under in getting ſeamen, for many 'months after hoſtilities were not only reſolv'd 'on, but actually begun; and conſequently, if 'we ought not to expoſe the nation to the dan-'gers, inconveniencies, and animoſities, always 'attending parliamentary inquiries, unleſs we be 'convinced of our conduct having been exceſ-'ſively bad, I am ſure, we ought not at preſent 'to agree to the ſetting up of any ſuch inquiry, 'or to any motion tending that way.

'Being thus, my Lords, as I have ſhewn, un-'der an utter inability, or rather impoſſibility, 'to attack any of the *Spaniſh* dominions at the 'beginning of the war, what were we to do in 'the mean time? Surely, I think, it will be 'granted, that the moſt prudent thing we could 'do, till we ſhould have time to augment our 'army, and diſcipline our new raiſed troops, 'was, to do the enemy as much hurt as poſſible 'at ſea, and to take all poſſible care to prevent 'their being able to do us any. For this pur-'poſe, proper orders were privately ſent to our 'Commodore in the *Weſt-Indies*; a ſquadron was 'fitted out, and ſent to intercept the *Aſſogues* 'ſhips in their return to *Europe*, from whence it 'was order'd to ſail to the *Weſt-Indies*; and a 'reinforcement was ſent to Admiral *Haddock*, 'with orders for him to take his ſtation off the 'harbour of *Cadiz*. In this there was a double 'deſign; for by being in this ſtation, he not only 'block'd up the *Spaniſh* ſquadron in that port,

'but

'but lay in the way to intercept their rich ſhips 'returning from the *Weſt-Indies*; and in both he 'had as much ſucceſs, I think, as could well be 'expected; for we have got two very rich 'prizes, and ſo far as I remember, not above 'one rich *Spaniſh* ſhip has eſcaped ſafely into 'that port ſince the beginning of the war. But 'our blocking up their ſquadron and their *Flota* 'in port was, it ſeems, what we ought not to 'have done; becauſe, if both had ſailed, they 'could have done us no injury, and we ſhould 'have had a chance of meeting with, and de-'ſtroying or taking them at ſea. My Lords, if 'their ſquadron had ſailed, it might, perhaps, 'have done great prejudice to us, before we 'could have an opportunity to meet with and 'deſtroy it at ſea; becauſe it might probably 'have met with ſome of our moſt numerous or 'richeſt fleets of merchant-men, and by defeating 'the convoy, our enemies might have made 'themſelves maſters of that whole fleet. If ſuch 'an accident as this had happen'd, the general 'complaint would then have been, why did you 'allow their ſquadron to ſail; why did you not 'ſend a ſuperior ſquadron to block it up in port? 'This complaint would, I think, have been more 'juſtly founded; and therefore, I think our mi-'niſters were in the right to take the moſt proper 'meaſures for preventing ſuch a fatal accident.

'Then, my Lords, with regard to the *Flota*, 'I ſhall grant, that if we could have formed any 'ſcheme for intercepting it at ſea, the beſt way 'would have been to have allowed it to ſail; but 'I muſt obſerve, that as the *Spaniſh* ſquadron 'and *Flota* lay both in the ſame port, we could 'not block up the one, and allow the other to 'ſail; for the *Flota* would never venture out, as 'long as our ſquadron lay before the port; and 'if our ſquadron had not taken up that ſtation,

'we could neither have intercepted the *Carracca* 'ſhips, nor could we have prevented the ſailing 'of their ſquadron; becauſe, if I have been 'rightly inform'd, even the ſquadron was in ſuch 'readineſs, that it might have ſailed as ſoon 'as the *Flota*, had not we prevented the ſailing 'of both, by ſtationing our ſquadron off the bay 'of *Cadiz*.

'But, my Lords, if we had allow'd the *Flota* 'to get fairly out to ſea, it is my opinion, that 'we ſhould have had but a very indifferent 'chance of meeting with it any where in its 'paſſage to *America*. It is ſuch a wide ſea, and 'the courſe ſo uncertain, that I do not know 'where we could have ſtation'd any ſquadron, 'ſo as to have a probable view of intercepting 'the *Spaniſh Flota*; and if it ſhould have got to '*Carthagena*, or any of the other *Spaniſh* ports in '*America*, its ſafe arrival would have been a 'great advantage to *Spain*, and a great preju-'dice to this nation. The *Spaniards* might by 'degrees have got the returns home in ſingle 'ſhips; and theſe returns being moſtly gold 'and ſilver, which are the ſinews of war, 'would have enabled them to ſupport, and even 'to puſh the war againſt us. Then as the mar-'kets in *New Spain* would, by the arrival of the '*Flota*, have been ſupplied with all ſorts of *Eu-'ropean* goods, it would have heen a great preju-'dice to that profitable contraband trade, which 'is now carried on in that part of the world by 'the ſubjects of this nation.

'Theſe things being conſider'd, my Lords, I 'muſt think it was the moſt prudent ſtep we 'could take, to ſtation our ſquadron before the 'bay of *Cadiz*, even tho' we thereby prevented 'the ſailing of the *Spaniſh Flota* as well as that 'of their ſquadron; and as to our ſquadron's 'attempting to ſail in, and deſtroy the ſhips in

'that harbour, I muſt be of opinion, that it 'would have been a moſt raſh and dangerous 'undertaking, unleſs our ſquadron had been ac-'companied with a land army ſufficient for be-'ſieging and taking the city of *Cadiz*, or at leaſt, 'for taking and deſtroying the many caſtles and 'batteries now erected for defending that har-'bour. Such an undertaking as this, would 'have requir'd a greater army than we had on 'foot in *Great-Britain* at the beginning of the 'war, even ſuppoſe we had reſolv'd to ſend every 'man of them out of the kingdom; and as ſuch 'an expedition would have been vaſtly expenſive, 'as we muſt have loſt a vaſt number of men in 'the attempt, if it had not ſucceeded, which 'very probably might have been the caſe, there 'would then have been a moſt general and a moſt 'juſt clamour raiſed againſt the meaſures of our 'adminiſtration, in the proſecution of the war.

'I have now, my Lords, briefly anſwer'd eve-'ry material objection I have heard made againſt 'our conduct in the preſent war; except that 'of the *Spaniſh* ſquadrons eſcaping firſt from '*Cadiz*, and next from *Ferrol*; and as to both, 'it is publickly known, that they were owing to 'mere accidents, which could neither be fore-'ſeen, nor provided againſt; ſo that, I think, I 'have no occaſion to take any farther notice of 'them. I may ſay the ſame with regard to our 'fleet deſigned for the *Weſt-Indies*, being ſo long 'detained in the *Channel*, after the failing of the '*Spaniſh* and *French* ſquadrons; and therefore, 'upon the whole, I muſt conclude, that in the 'war hitherto, we have met with no misfortune, 'nor miſſed doing any thing in our power 'to do, but what has been occaſion'd by acci-'dents, which no human prudence could prevent 'or provide againſt.

'As this, my Lords, is my way of thinking 'with reſpect to our conduct hitherto, in the

'war we are now engag'd in: As, I think, 'we have great reaſon to expect ſucceſs from 'the ſame ſort of conduct in the time to 'come, I am not ſo fond as others may, per-'haps, be, of a change of hands; therefore, I 'cannot think we have any reaſon for a general 'parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the 'war. Such an inquiry would, in my opinion, 'be attended with many dangers, and that none 'of the leaſt conſiderable, that it might, per-'haps, occaſion a change in our adminiſtration, 'and might throw the future management of 'the war, into the hands of thoſe, who are ſo 'fond of attacking the enemy, that they would 'expoſe us to the utmoſt danger of being at-'tack'd in the moſt ſenſible part, and in that 'way which would bring the greateſt ruin and 'deſolation upon this iſland. I am therefore 'againſt an immediate inquiry into the conduct 'of the war; and as without ſuch an inquiry, we 'can have no uſe for the papers now moved for, I 'ſhall, without any regard to what may be thought 'or ſaid by the clamorous without doors, give my 'negative to the queſtion.'

The laſt that ſpoke in this debate, was the Lord *Carteret*, whoſe ſpeech was in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.*

'My Lords,

Lord *Carteret*'s ſpeech. 'In this debate, as in moſt others of the like 'nature, facts are generally conteſted, or very 'differently repreſented; and when the juſtifi-'cation or condemnation of a miniſter's conduct 'depends upon ſuch facts, the different repre-'ſentation of them is one of the ſtrongeſt argu-'ments that can be made uſe of for an inquiry 'into his conduct. The noble Lord ſays, the 'ſentiments of ſome people have varied exceed-'ingly ſince the beginning of the war. What 'people his Lordſhip means I do not know; but

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'the ſentiments of moſt people I have convers'd 'with, have been long, and are ſtill the ſame. 'They thought long ago, that *Spain* deſerved 'our higheſt reſentment; and that no treaty, no 'convention, nothing could ſecure the future 'freedom of our trade and navigation, but our 'taking a full revenge for paſt injuries, and a 'real ſecurity againſt the like in time to come. 'By real ſecurity, I mean our taking and holding 'poſſeſſion of ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in the '*Weſt-Indies*; and by a full revenge, I mean our 'taking ſatisfaction not only for the damage we 'have ſuſtained, but for all the inſults we have 'met with. Theſe were the ends we were to 'purſue, according to the ſentiments of all thoſe 'I converſed with; and every one ſaw, that nei-'ther of theſe ends could be anſwer'd by repri-'ſals. Nay, every one foreſaw, that by mutual 'repriſals, we ſhould probably be loſers upon the 'balance; but no one, I believe, foreſaw, that 'our loſs would riſe to ſuch a ſurpriſing height 'as it has done.

'My Lords, thro' our whole conduct from 'the beginning of the war to this very day, 'we ſeem to have been afraid of what no rea-'ſonable man could apprehend, and to neglect 'that danger, which every reaſonable man 'had moſt reaſon to be afraid of. We have 'dreaded invaſions, we have dreaded what the 'enemy might do againſt us, by means of their 'ſquadrons, and have neglected the injuries they 'might do to our trade by means of their pri-'vateers; we have dreaded giving the alarm to 'the other powers of *Europe*, by our making a 'vigorous puſh againſt *Spain*, whereas we ought 'to have dreaded giving encouragement to any 'one of them to declare againſt us, by a weak 'or puſillanimous proſecution of the war. If 'we had conſider'd only the injuries we had re-'ceiv'd, and the proper methods to reſent them;

'if we had begun by a vigorous puſh in *America*, and thereby made ourſelves in a great meaſure, maſters, which we might have done, of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in that part of the world; if we had ſhewn, by ſending our army abroad, that we could truſt to our own people at home, and deſpiſed the vain threats of invaſions, it would have reſtored to us the confidence of our allies, and in that caſe, thoſe Potentates in *Europe*, who can never have occaſion to be jealous of our naval power, or of the increaſe of our dominions in *America*, would have kept in awe the other Potentates in *Europe*, who from ſuch a jealouſy, or perhaps from a worſe motive, might have inclined to join with *Spain* againſt us. But ſuch a conduct as this could hardly, indeed, be expected from thoſe, who had for twenty years together purſued maxims of a direct contrary nature; and who, by purſuing ſuch maxims, have now at laſt brought the affairs of *Europe* into the utmoſt confuſion, and the affairs of this nation almoſt to the brink of perdition.

'To pretend, my Lords, that we are not to take the moſt effectual methods for bringing the enemy to reaſon, is a maxim that muſt deſtroy itſelf, or it will deſtroy the nation, by rendering the war between *Spain* and us perpetual. I hope it is now laid aſide; for if it is not, I do not know what we intend by the land force and ſtrong ſquadron now ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*: If they are not to be employ'd in ſuch a manner, as may be diſagreeable to ſome of the friends of *Spain*, I am ſure, they are not to be employ'd in any manner, that can be beneficial to this nation, or effectual for compelling *Spain* to do us juſtice; and therefore, I am ſorry to hear ſuch an argument made uſe of in excuſe for our method of beginning the war, becauſe it gives me a moſt ungrateful ſuſpicion,

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'that the ſame argument is hereafter to be made 'uſe of, for miſapplying the force now ſent to 'the *Weſt-Indies*.

'But it ſeems, my Lords, beſide this of giv-'ing the alarm to the other powers of *Europe*, 'we had another reaſon, and if it were true, I 'ſhall grant, a much better one, for not begin-'ning the war by ſending out a land force to 'attack ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *Ame-'rica*; which is, that it was not in our power; 'and in order to eſtabliſh this fact, the noble 'Lord endeavoured to ſhew, that *Spain* is now 'in a better ſtate for defence, and this nation in 'a worſe ſtate for offence, than in the days of 'Queen *Elizabeth*. This, I muſt ſay, ſeems to 'me a ſort of paradox; it is ſomewhat ſtrange, 'that the crown of *Spain*, when poſſeſſed of *Por-'tugal* as well as *Spain*, and when poſſeſſed of a 'great part of *Italy*, and almoſt the whole ſeven-'teen provinces of the *Netherlands*, ſeven of 'which have ſince made ſuch a figure in the 'world; I ſay, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that in 'theſe circumſtances the crown of *Spain* ſhould 'not be in a better ſtate, either for offence or 'defence, than it is at preſent. Perhaps they 'had not at that time ſo many old regular re-'giments in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as they have now 'in *Spain*: But had we any ſuch regiments in '*England* in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*? Eve-'ry one knows we had not: She never kept 'up a ſtanding army; ſhe never raiſed any 'troops or regiments, till ſhe had occaſion for 'them; as ſoon as they were raiſed, they were 'ſent upon the ſervice deſign'd; and as ſoon as 'the ſervice was over, they were diſbanded, and 'obliged to betake themſelves to their former in-'duſtrious employments. Were not then the mi-'litia or new-raiſed troops of *Spain*, as good as 'any militia or new-raiſed troops ſhe had to ſend 'againſt them? If they were not, it was becauſe

'the common men of this nation are naturally 'better ſoldiers than the common men of *Spain*; 'and this difference, I hope, ſtill ſubſiſts; for as 'our common people, or what ſome gentlemen 'now very much affect to call them, the mob, 'have more liberty, they muſt of courſe have 'better ſpirits and more courage, than the com-'mon men in any country, where they are in a 'manner ſlaves; and as the common people of '*Spain* have now neither arms, diſcipline, nor 'courage equal with any troops we can ſend a-'gainſt them, therefore it would now be more 'eaſy to land and make inroads upon their coaſt, 'than it was in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*; for 'if they had a much more numerous army than 'they have, every part of their coaſt could not 'be provided with a body of regular troops ready 'to oppoſe the invaders at their firſt landing.

'With regard therefore, my Lords, to troops 'or armies, it is evident, I think, that *Spain* is 'not now in ſuch a good ſtate of defence, as it 'was in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and with regard 'to their fortifications, if the arts of fortification 'have very much improv'd ſince that time, the 'arts of attacking or beſieging have kept equal, 'or rather a much quicker pace; for ſieges, even 'of the beſt fortified places, do not uſually now 'laſt ſo long, as ſieges then did, of places which 'would now be look'd on, as very weakly forti-'fied. For this reaſon, my Lords, we are not to 'judge of the difficulty of attacking a place, from 'its being now much better fortified than it was a 'hundred and fifty years ago; we are to judge 'from the methods now in uſe for attacking, if 'we know them, or from the opinions of thoſe 'that do; and, I believe, moſt engineers will tell 'us, that very few, if any of the harbours of '*Spain*, are proof againſt the navy of *England*, 'when it is properly commanded, properly pro-'vided, and, above all, properly inſtructed.

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'The next paradox I am to take notice of, my 'Lords, is, that we are not now in ſo good a 'condition for acting upon the offenſive againſt 'Spain, as we were in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time. 'This likewiſe is ſomewhat ſtrange: The whole 'iſland of *Great Britain* is now united, and be-'ſides, we are now in poſſeſſion of moſt extenſive 'and populous ſettlements in *America*; and yet, 'we have it not now ſo much in our power to 'attack *Spain*, either in *Europe* or *America*, as in 'Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, when the iſland was 'divided into two ſeparate and diſtinct kingdoms, 'and when we had few or no ſettlements of our 'own in *America*. If it really be ſo, I am ſure, 'it cannot proceed from the nature of things, but 'from the weakneſs of our late counſels; and this 'ought to be a prevailing argument with every 'Lord that thinks ſo, for reſolving upon an im-'mediate inquiry into our late conduct, and conſe-'quently for agreeing to this motion.

'But the great advantage enjoyed both by 'Queen *Elizabeth* and *Oliver Cromwell*, above 'what we enjoy at preſent, conſiſted, it ſeems, in 'this, that neither of them were under the leaſt 'apprehenſions of an invaſion from *France*, at 'the time they reſolved on a rupture with *Spain*. 'My Lords, if Queen *Elizabeth* was under no 'apprehenſions of an invaſion from *France*, it was 'owing entirely to the wiſdom and ſteadineſs of 'her preceding counſels. If ſhe had not counte-'nanced and aſſiſted the United Provinces in 'throwing off the yoke of *Spain:* If ſhe had not 'countenanced and aſſiſted the Proteſtants of '*France:* If ſhe had not moſt artfully managed 'the court of *Scotland*; the United Provinces 'would have been reduced and oppreſſed; the 'Duke of *Guiſe*'s faction would have prevailed 'and been at the head of affairs in *France*; and 'the King of *Scotland* might perhaps have entered 'into the Catholick league againſt her. If ſhe

'had, by thinking of nothing but little temporary 'expedients, allowed the affairs of *Europe* to have 'been brought to this paſs, ſhe would probably 'have been invaded from *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain* 'and *Scotland*, at one and the ſame time; and in 'this caſe, neither her fleets nor her armies, nor 'even the affections of her people, which was 'more than all, would have been able to prevent 'her ruin; but ſhe foreſaw the diſtant danger, 'and by bold as well as wiſe counſels, diſconcert-'ed all the ſchemes of her enemies, before they 'could bring them to perfection. Had we of late 'purſued ſuch counſels, we ſhould not now, per-'haps, have ſeen ſuch an union of counſels be-'tween the courts of *France* and *Spain*; or if we 'had, we ſhould have had no great occaſion to 'dread either the union of their counſels, or the 'union of their arms: But we have purſued quite 'different meaſures; we have long laboured, and 'at a great expence too, to reconcile thoſe two 'courts, though it was our intereſt to labour in-'ceſſantly at ſowing diſcord between them; and 'by cultivating a friendſhip with *France*, which 'muſt always be deſtructive to this nation, and 'entertaining ſtrange jealouſies of thoſe, whoſe 'friendſhip it was our buſineſs to cultivate, we 'have overturned that ſyſtem of politicks in *Eu-'rope*, upon which the ſafety of this nation, as 'well as the liberties of *Europe*, very much de-'pended.

'Now, my Lords, with regard to *Oliver Crom-'well*; he was not, it is true, under any appre-'henſions of an invaſion from *France*, when he 'reſolved upon a rupture with *Spain*, becauſe theſe 'two nations were then engaged in war; but as '*Spain* was then in poſſeſſion of all the ports of '*Flanders*, and even of *Dunkirk* itſelf, if *Crom-'well* was not afraid of an invaſion from *Spain*, it 'did not proceed from the numerouſneſs of his 'army, or from the affections of the people, but

'from his own fearleſs ſpirit, which was very different from the ſpirit that ſeems of late years to have influenced all our counſels. Nor was the government of *Spain*, at that time, under ſo weak an adminiſtration, as has been repreſented; for they defended themſelves ſo bravely, and were ſuch an equal match for *France*, notwithſtanding their being engag'd at the ſame time in a war with *Portugal*, that *France* was glad to court the aſſiſtance of *Cromwell*, and to promiſe him *Dunkirk*, as ſoon as it ſhould be taken from the *Spaniards*. Had *Cromwell* been at the head of ſuch a lawful, eſtabliſhed government as the preſent; had he been chief miniſter to a King that enjoyed ſo much the affections of his people, as his preſent Majeſty does, he would have deſpiſed the fears of an invaſion, either from *France* or *Spain*; at leaſt he would not, on that account, have delay'd, for one moment, doing what he knew to be abſolutely neceſſary, for compelling the *Spaniards* to do juſtice to his King and Maſter.

'I hope, my Lords, I have now ſhewn, that at the beginning of this war we had it in our power to follow the example of Queen *Elizabeth* and *Cromwell*, by beginning the war with an attack upon the enemy at land; and that we might have attacked them both in *Spain* and *America* with a probable view of ſucceſs, if we had not been frightned out of our ſenſes by that phantom, called an invaſion. With regard to *Old Spain*, I have often declared myſelf, and it is ſtill my opinion, that we ought not to ſend out any body of land forces for attacking the enemy in that quarter, becauſe we cannot propoſe to carry on a land war there, or to keep poſſeſſion of any of the places we may make ourſelves maſters of; all we can, or ought to think of, is, to make inroads upon their open coaſt, and for this purpoſe our ſeamen and ma-

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'rines may, I think, do as well as a body of re-
'gular land forces. If we had reſolved upon this
'method of harraſſing the enemy, in order to
'make their people ſenſible of the war, our ſqua-
'dron under Admiral *Haddock* might have done
'them great damage, and kept them in continual
'alarms, by plundering many places upon the
'open coaſt, and by burning and deſtroying the
'ſhips in many of their harbours; for I muſt join
'with other noble Lords in thinking, that it was
'very needleſs to keep that ſquadron conſtantly in
'its ſtation before *Cadiz*, becauſe, if we had at
'firſt ſent a ſufficient force to the *Weſt-Indies*, we
'had no occaſion to block up their ſquadron in
'port, and much leſs their *Flota*. Their ſquadron
'would not have dared to have cruiſed in the
'open ſeas, for intercepting any of our fleets of
'merchant-men, for fear of being itſelf intercepted
'by our ſquadron; and if we had kept a good
'look-out, about the *Leeward* and *Caribbee* iſlands,
'we might, very probably, have intercepted the
'*Flota* in its paſſage to *America*; or if we had not,
'we ſhould, probably, have had a good ſhare of
'the returns, by means of our privateers and crui-
'ſers, if the *Spaniards* had attempted to bring
'them to *Europe* in ſingle ſhips.

'But, my Lords, ſome of thoſe who have
'the direction of our counſels, were really, I
'believe, afraid, leſt we ſhould intercept the
'*Spaniſh* flota; and their fears proceeded from a
'miſtake, which I have heard mentioned by ſome
'of their friends in this houſe. They imagine,
'my Lords, that the *French*, *Dutch*, *Italians*,
'and perhaps ſome of our own merchants,
'have a large ſhare of property in the cargoes of
'the *Spaniſh* flotas and galleons; and that conſe-
'quently, if we ſhould lay hold of any of them,
'it would involve our government in endleſs diſ-
'putes with our neighbours. This, my Lords,
'is a downright miſtake: No foreigner can have

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'any ſhare either in ſhip or cargo. They muſt 'all be in the names of *Spaniards*; and therefore 'the whole would be lawful prize, if we ſhould 'happen to take them. If foreigners had any 'latent claims on ſhip or cargo, we neither could, 'nor ought to admit them: In time of war no 'nation does ſo: If the ſhip appears to belong 'to an enemy, both ſhip and cargo become the 'lawful prize of the captors, except in thoſe 'caſes that are expreſsly provided for by treaty, 'after the firſt breaking out of a war; and 'even in theſe, the claim muſt appear by the 'envoyces or bills of lading, and not by latent 'deeds, which might afterwards be forged on 'purpoſe to make a claim. Therefore, if we 'had intercepted the *Spaniſh* flota, we ſhould not 'have been involved in any diſputes with our 'friends, becauſe none of them could have had 'a juſt pretence to diſpute the property with us; 'and, I hope, we are not brought ſo low, as 'to be obliged to admit of pretences that are 'not founded in juſtice and the law of nations.

'It is pretended, I find, my Lords, by all thoſe 'who have ſpoke againſt this motion, that the 'eſcape of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron from *Cadiz* and '*Ferrol*, and the arrival of the *French* and *Spaniſh* 'ſquadrons in the *Weſt-Indies*, ſo long before we 'ſent any relief or reinforcement to Admiral '*Vernon*, were owing to mere accidents, which 'could not be provided againſt by human pru-'dence. My Lords, this is the very caſe in 'queſtion, and the very caſe we are to inquire 'into. It is generally thought, that all accidents 'have been with us, inſtead of being againſt us; 'or that, if any have been againſt us, they were 'ſuch as might have been prevented, or pro-'vided againſt by a very ſmall ſhare of human 'prudence. I have reaſon, I think, to believe, 'that except *Porto Bello* and *Chagre*, we have 'reaped no advantage in this war but what has

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'happened by accident. Our taking the *Caracca* 'ſhips was plainly owing to accident; for it was 'highly improbable any *Spaniſh* ſhip ſhould ap-'proach the bay of *Cadiz*, while our ſquadron 'lay before it. The *Caracca* ſhips would not, 'if they had not by accident miſſed meeting 'with any of the advice-boats ſent out by the '*Spaniards* to give notice where our ſquadron was 'ſtationed; which ſhews, that the appointing of 'our ſquadron to lie in any certain ſtation, was 'the worſt method we could take, for intercept-'ing the rich *Spaniſh* ſhips in their return from 'the *Weſt-Indies*. If we had intercepted the *Aſ-'ſogues* ſhips, it would have been entirely owing 'to accident; for notwithſtanding our talking 'ſo much of our ſecret intelligence, it appear'd, 'that we knew nothing of the courſe they were 'to ſteer. In ſhort, during the whole courſe of 'the war, I do not know of one capture that 'has been made but by accident, or by the good 'conduct of ſome of our private captains: None 'have been made by the good conduct of our 'miniſters; but, I am ſure, the *Spaniards* have 'made many upon us by the bad conduct of our 'miniſters. Our merchants have ſuffer'd in a 'moſt ſurpriſing manner: If there were no other 'ſuſpicion of miſconduct, this alone deſerves, 'and ought to be inquir'd into by Parliament; 'for the enemy have ſuch a number of pri-'vateers at ſea, and we hear ſo little of our 'cruiſers, that if our merchant-ſhips which ſail 'without, or are ſeparated from their convoy, 'miſs being taken, I muſt aſcribe it to mere 'accident; and as it has been already obſerv'd, 'I do not know but that the ſafety of Admi-'ral *Vernon* and our ſugar iſlands is to be aſcrib'd 'to the ſame cauſe.

'Thus, my Lords, from what publickly ap-'pears, all accidents ſeem to have been in our 'favour: If any have been againſt us, let us

'know

'know them in a parliamentary way: Let us in-
'quire into them; and then we can determine,
'whether they ought to be admitted as an excuſe
'for our conduct. A motion for an inquiry, and
'much leſs a motion for enabling us to inquire
'is no final judgment. If the rules laid down
'by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, were to be
'admitted, no man could move for an inquiry
'into a miniſter's conduct, but the miniſter him-
'ſelf; for if one is not to move for an inquiry,
'unleſs he judges the miniſter's conduct to have
'been exceſſively bad, and if he can form no
'ſuch judgment, without knowing all that the
'miniſter knows, and all that he ought to know,
'no ſuch inquiry could ever be moved for but
'by the miniſter himſelf, the abſurdity of which
'I need not explain. But this, my Lords, is not
'the rule: When we are conſidering, whether or
'no we ought to inquire into a miniſter's con-
'duct, we are to judge from the known circum-
'ſtances and appearances of things; and if from
'them his conduct ſeems to be ſuſpicious, we
'ought to reſolve upon an inquiry, and to call
'for every thing we think neceſſary for that
'purpoſe. The judgment we then form, is not
'final, even as to his conduct; becauſe, when we
'enter upon that inquiry, he will have an op-
'portunity to juſtify his meaſures, by laying be-
'fore the houſe thoſe private informations, which
'were his motives for purſuing or adviſing ſuch
'meaſures; and from theſe we may find that
'conduct to be right, which, according to the
'publick and known appearances of things,
'ſeem'd to be exceſſively bad.

'This, my Lords, is the only rule we can lay
'down to ourſelves, in all deliberations, whether
'or no we ought to inquire into the whole, or
'any part of a miniſter's conduct. This ſhall
'always be my rule; and according to this, I
'think myſelf obliged, both in duty to my

'King,

'King, and in duty to my country, to concur 'with my noble friend in the motion he has 'made to you.'

Motion diſagreed to.

The queſtion upon this motion was likewiſe carried in the negative, by 58 *Not Contents*, to 41 *Contents*; which occaſioned the following proteſt.

Diſſentient

Proteſt upon it.

1. Becauſe we conceive, that there never were inſtructions more neceſſary to be examin'd than thoſe contain'd in this queſtion, in order to inable us to diſcharge our duty, both as counſellors to his Majeſty, and guardians of the nation.

The known and aſtoniſhing inaction, for the ſpace of above two years, of a great and powerful fleet, fitted out and maintain'd at an immenſe expence to the nation, fixes a heavy charge either upon the commander of that ſquadron, or upon thoſe who gave him his inſtructions. But when we compare the experienced courage and abilities of Rear-Admiral *Haddock*, upon all former occaſions, with the inglorious inſtructions given by this adminiſtration to the ſeveral Admirals employed for theſe laſt twenty years, we cannot, as at preſent inform'd, but impute this unaccountable inaction to the weakneſs or puſillanimity of thoſe, whoſe inſtructions we are perſuaded he with concern obey'd. And we are confirm'd in this opinion, by his being ſtill continued in that command, which a diſobedience to his inſtructions would have forfeited.

2. Becauſe we think it neceſſary that the houſe ſhould be fully inform'd, by what fatal miſtake, negligence or deſign, the *Spaniſh* ſquadron at *Cadiz*, ſo long block'd up in that port, while they were neither ready, nor the ſeaſon of the year fit for them to go out, ſhould have been, by the ſudden withdrawing of our fleet in the *Mediterranean*, permitted to ſail without moleſtation,

as

as ſoon as they were fit, and the ſeaſon favourable. And we cannot, as at preſent inform'd, impute that unhappy meaſure to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, ſince orders of that great importance ought to be conceived in the cleareſt, plaineſt, and leaſt ambiguous terms, which had he miſtaken, he would not have been, as he now is, entruſted with the command of ſo great a fleet, and with the interpretation of inſtructions of ſtill greater conſequence. Nor can we conceive, that the communication of orders relating only to ſailing, and the change of ſtation, can ſufficiently clear up a point of that great importance.

3. Becauſe we think that the ſtale objection, that the communication of theſe inſtructions may diſcover to our enemies intended deſigns and attempts, can have no weight upon this occaſion, when the reaſon for calling for thoſe inſtructions, is, becauſe no one attempt of any kind whatſoever has been made upon our enemies in the courſe of above two years; and it is not credible, that, if during that time any one deſign had been intended, no one attempt ſhould have been made in conſequence of it. We therefore juſtly may, and only can conceive, theſe inſtructions, which we were not allow'd to apply for, to be of the ſame inactive nature of thoſe which we have formerly ſeen flowing from the ſame languid ſource, to the equal diſhonour of his Majeſty's councils and arms.

4. Becauſe we conceive, that the denial of theſe neceſſary lights puts a full ſtop to any farther effectual inquiry into the conduct of the war; an inquiry ſo becoming this houſe, and ſo unanimouſly called for by the voice of the nation, that outward appearances have at once raiſed the curioſity, the aſtoniſhment, and the concern of a brave and a loyal people, willing to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for the honour and advantage of his Majeſty and this kingdom, in the proſecution

tion of this juſt and neceſſary war: And we conceive that they ought, by the ſtricteſt inquiry, upon the fulleſt informations, to have been ſatisfied as to the paſt, and ſecured as to the future. And we think that all minute inquiries into the little abuſes of inferior officers, over whom it is the duty of the adminiſtration to watch, would be only amuſing and deceiving mankind with the name of an inquiry, and deſcending from our dignity of counſellors of the crown, and checks of the adminiſtration, to the low rank of inquiſitors into the conduct of petty and unprotected offenders. We therefore think, that we have diſcharged our duty to his Majeſty and the publick, in having moved for thoſe papers, which we conſidered as the foundations abſolutely neceſſary for a proper and effectual inquiry. We here enter our diſſent upon the denial of thoſe papers; the world muſt then judge of the conduct of the war upon the appearance of facts and circumſtances; with this conſiderable additional circumſtance, That lights were denied.

Litchfield
Bridgwater
Shaftſbury
Carliſle
Falmouth
Abingdon
Haverſham
Talbot
Denbigh
Halifax
Bathurſt
Middleton
Thanet
Suffolk
Aylesford
Oxford
Hereford
Montjoy
Greenwich
Willoughby de Brook
Ward
Northampton
Cheſterfield
Berkſhire
Gower
Briſtol
Weſtmoreland
Cobham
R. Lincoln

The End of the TWENTIETH VOLUME.